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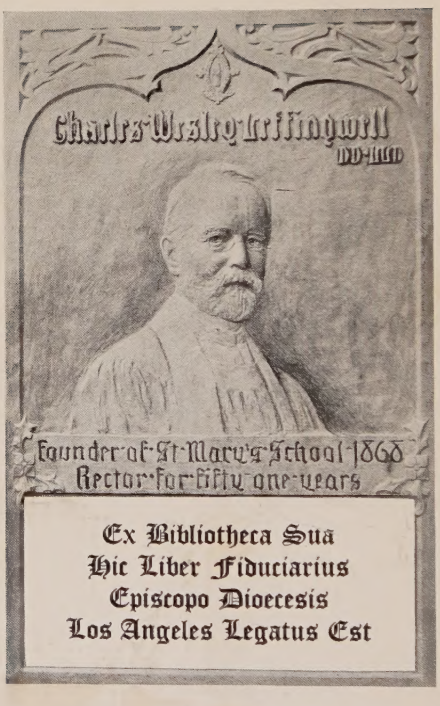

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MEMOIR

OF

RT. REV. JAMES HERVEY OTEY, D.D., LL.D.,

THE FIRST BISHOP OF TENNESSEE.

BY

RT. REV. WILLIAM MERCER GREEN, D.D.,

BISHOP OF MISSISSIPPI.

NEW YORK:
JAMES POTT AND COMPANY.
1885.

TO THE READER.

THE following Memoir was not written for the eye of the critic, but for the hearts of the surviving children and the old friends of Tennessee's first and great Bishop.

The reader will find in it no record of hair-breadth escapes, splendid achievements, or incidents of romance.

It is a simple tribute of friendship, a heart-felt memorial of a noble frontier Bishop, one of the great minds and hearts of the American Catholic Church.

It has been the writer's endeavor neither to extenuate what was amiss, nor indulge in any unmerited eulogy; but to present a plain transcript of the life and labors of one of whom the Church, as well as the world, knows too little, — or, in other words, to make a photograph-likeness of his subject, setting it in a plain frame, and hanging it in a clear light.

As for fine writing, or flourish of style, it would have been as unsuited to the writer, now in his eighty-eighth year, as to the noble character which he was seeking to portray.

Thankful would he be if what is here written in memory of the dead shall in any wise benefit the living, by cheering the missionary in his lonely labors, by forwarding the cause of Christian education, or by assuring the young setter-out in life that sooner or later there will come a reward for the true in heart and the patient in well-doing.

W. M. G.

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MEMOIR OF BISHOP OTEY.

The county of Bedford in Virginia, lying at the eastern foot of the Blue Ridge, and overlooked by the Peaks of Otter, if without any other claim to distinction, may well boast of having been the birthplace of two of the best and best-beloved Bishops of the American Church. The memory of Otey and Cobbs will be fondly cherished by its citizens, long after the generation which once knew them shall have passed away.

Of the late Bishop of Alabama, Nicholas H. Cobbs, it is hoped that some pen equal to the task will yet make a record of his saintly life, and of his well-known devotion to the duties of his holy calling.

The following Memoir is offered as an affectionate tribute to the memory of Tennessee's first and great Bishop, by one who knew him well, and loved him with more than a brother's love. Through fear of having any features of this portrait set down to a blind partiality, the reader will find that the larger part of it has been given in extracts from the Bishop's diary, in the affecting letters of his own children, and in the ready vouchers of friends and brethren of every degree.

The Oteys, on both sides of the house, were of a

good old English stock. The grandfather of the Bishop was a valiant soldier in the war of '76. When the British had obtained possession of the Pamunkey River, he raised a company at his own expense, and captured one of their boats; refusing, after the war, all offers of reward or remuneration. The Bishop's father, Isaac Otey, was a well-to-do farmer, from whom he inherited those sterling qualities of mind and heart that have distinguished so many of Virginia's sons in both peace and war. He was careful to instil into his children a high sense of honor, and a stern regard to moral principle. The Bishop's mother was a Matthews, of a gentle and amiable disposition, and disposed rather to indulge her children. His father was of sterner stuff, but not without a tender consideration for the weaknesses of childhood and youth.[1] The name of Isaac Otey may be found for thirty years on the Legislative Journals of Virginia, as a representative of Bedford County; and to his further credit it may be added, that his repeated elections were, for the most part, without opposition.

The subject of this sketch, James Hervey, was one of the younger sons in a family of twelve children; and

[1] The following incident, related to the author by the Bishop, will illustrate the difference: —

"One morning, when I was in my sixteenth year, I remarked at the breakfast-table that I had been kept awake during the night by a pain in my breast. My dear mother heaved a deep-drawn sigh, and looked imploringly at my father, who said not a word at the time. But when breakfast was over he said, 'James, I shall have to send away my "striker" for awhile: step down to my blacksmith-shop to-day, and strike till he gets back.' It was *three weeks* before I was relieved of the shop. The cure was most effectual."

was born on the 27th of January, 1800. "Hervey" was not a family name; but, about the time of his birth, the works of that English writer were more read than at present. Their florid and highly decorated style had such charms for the uncultivated taste of his parents, as to cause them to give his name to that child, who, in time, was to endow it with so much honor.

In his early boyhood, James was sent, in company with his brothers and sisters, to an "old-field school," a short distance from their home. In due time he was transferred or elevated to an academy in New London, the county-town of Bedford, and the scene of those magnificent speeches of Patrick Henry, of which we are told in the no less magnificent language of Wirt. The instruction here given him, though not extensive in its range, was thorough in its character. He early evinced a studious and inquiring disposition, being an eager and attentive listener to the simple and honest counsels of his father, and sharing with him in the popular discussions of the day. At that time the wars of Napoleon were the current topics of the village schoolboy, as well as of the minister in his cabinet. The boy's young mind was fired with ambitious views of distinction, but without any definite aim. To his enthusiastic imagination, Napoleon was the embodiment of his highest conceptions of human greatness; and, doubtless, formed in him an unconscious resolve to win for himself some one or other of the prizes of life. His father, seeing this laudable ambition, resolved, even at much sacrifice, to give him further advantages. Accordingly, in his sixteenth year he was sent to the University of

North Carolina, at that time the most distinguished institution of the kind in the South. His appearance on entering college was, for a time, a subject for quizzical remark among "the boys." He was then full six feet in height, and ungainly in his movements. His clothing looked as if his own dear mother had been his chief tailor. He had a keen dark eye, a complexion made up of the ruddy and the brown, with straight and coal-black hair, and the striding gait of a true son of the forest. No wonder, then, that he was soon dubbed with the nickname of "Cherokee." But, notwithstanding these external disadvantages, there was nothing of the *vulgar* about him. His look and features were such as any generous heart would at once be interested in. Though not a Chesterfield in manner, he was far from being an unmannerly lout. In a very short time he gained the respect and affection of his instructors as well as his schoolfellows. Throughout, his whole college course was remarkable for his love of reading and for his strict obedience to law and order. Though caring but little for the highest honors of his class, he was indefatigable in storing his mind with the choicest treasures of ancient and modern learning. Whilst the "first-honor men" were wrestling with the paradigms of their Greek and Latin exercises, he was turning the pages of Addison and Burke and Johnson, or revelling in the wider field of history, biography, and poetry. His intervals of study were spent in genial intercourse with chosen friends, or whiled away in the companionship of his violin, an instrument on which he was no ordinary performer, and to which he was

indebted for many alleviating and consolatory moments in his subsequent life. It is with a mournful pleasure that the writer recalls the many evening walks, which, arm-in-arm, he then enjoyed with this dear friend whom he is endeavoring to portray.

One peculiarity, or infirmity, of my dear schoolmate at this time, I well remember. It was his fear of lightning. Although sufficiently bold and self-reliant on other occasions, he was so completely unmanned at the approach of a thunder-cloud, that a visible paleness and tremor would seize him. It is only since the writer began this Memoir, that he has learned from the Rev. Dr. Wheat the following amusing incident, which fully accounts for this idiosyncrasy in the subject of our story.

"I was one day [says the Doctor] accompanying the Bishop in a round of visits to my parishioners (Christ Church, Nashville), when a sudden summer shower came upon us. I raised my umbrella to shelter the Bishop; but he immediately thrust it aside, for fear, as he said, it might attract the lightning. He afterwards explained to me, that he had had, from early childhood, an uncontrollably nervous dread of lightning, caused by an incident which he thus related with some merriment: —

"'One day my mother sent me to bring under shelter, from an approaching thunder-shower, a hen with a brood of young chickens. In driving them along, I had to pass by the side of a high rail-fence, very open at the bottom. Through this opening the hen would pass backward and forward, compelling me as often to climb the fence after her. She had performed this feat three times; my patience was well-nigh exhausted; the thunder growled fearfully, and there came a heavy down-pouring of rain. As the old hen was about to pass once more through the fence, I threw my stick at her, exclaiming in my rage, "*Consarn you!*" Just

as I uttered these words, I was dazed by a blinding flash of lightning, accompanied by a crashing volley of heaven's artillery. I left the hen and chickens to their fate, fled in the greatest terror to the house, and crept under a bed in the darkest corner of the room, endeavoring to shut out the sound of what seemed to me the terrible voice of God, rebuking me for my profanity.' ''

In June, 1820, he completed his college course; and for the variety as well as correctness of his attainments received the degree of "Bachelor in Belles Lettres," a distinction unknown till then in the annals of that institution. Here may be seen the foundation laid for that clear, vigorous, and correct style, which ever after marked the productions of the Bishop's pen.

Immediately after his graduation, he was appointed to a tutorship of Latin and Greek in that college, and thus had the opportunity of advancing himself still further in the knowledge of those important languages. One part of his tutorial duty was to hold prayers in the college-chapel every morning, just after daylight. This was to him a new and most irksome exercise. However willing he might have been to offer up his devotions at his bedside, this call to act in public, as a leader or spokesman for others, was a trial of no ordinary kind. For a while he stumbled through the performance with no degree of improvement, and with less and less satisfaction to himself. At length a kind lady friend pointed his attention to the Prayer-Book, and presented him a copy. Here indeed was a treasure-house opened to him; prayers short, pithy, and suited to every purpose and condition, — the very thing that he had been longing for. Never before had he seen any thing like it.

Here let it be observed that his parents, though esteemed and honored by all, were members of no Christian denomination; and that the Episcopal Church was, at that day, least of all known and esteemed in that part of Virginia. His acquaintance with this book formed an eventful era in his life. The more he became familiar with its contents, the higher and more fervent was his admiration for the soundness of its doctrines, the spirituality of its prayers, and its admirable fitness for all the purposes of public or private devotion. From that time he became what till the day of his death he delighted to be called, — a "Prayer-Book Churchman."

On the 13th of October, 1821, he married Miss Eliza D. Pannill, a blooming daughter of the family with whom he had been boarding. The Pannills were from Petersburg, Va., a name of long standing and of the highest respectability, but, like many others of that day, of decayed fortune.

Very soon after his marriage, he removed to Maury County, Tennessee, and was opening a school for boys, near the town of Franklin, when he was induced to return to North Carolina, and take the academy at Warrenton, which was just passing out of the hands of the Rev. George W. Freeman. While there engaged, he was baptized by the Rev. William Mercer Green, then in charge of that parish; and, soon after, confirmed by Bishop Ravenscroft. On the 10th of October, 1825, he received the Diaconate, and June 7, 1827, the Office of Priest, at the hands of the same great Bishop. Being thus invested with a full priestly commission, he set out again for the distant and less-cultivated field of Ten-

nessee, and established himself in the town of Franklin, eighteen miles south of Nashville. For a long time, the only place for worship that could be found for himself and his little flock, was the lower room of a Masonic Lodge.[1] But, humble as that was, it may piously and thankfully be looked back to, as the birthplace and the cradle of a Diocese now rejoicing in its strength.

On re-opening his school in Tennessee, Mr. Otey indulged the sanguine hope that he was thus beginning, though in a feeble way, a long and dearly cherished scheme of his, in which religious instruction was to go hand in hand with the every-day lessons of the school-room. Here, for eight years, his time was divided between the labors of the pedagogue and the pastor and the missionary. And dearly cherished to this day, by the aged denizens of that village, is the memory of that young Minister who instructed both old and young in many lessons profitable to both their temporal and eternal good. In that school there was one boy of whom the Bishop was, ever after, justly proud; viz., the renowned scientist Matthew F. Maury. Nor was it less pleasing to him to remember that among his pupils in Warrenton, there were two brothers, Braxton and Thomas Bragg; the one in after-life a distinguished general of the Confederate army, the other a conspicuous member of the cabinet of Mr. Davis. And it was a heartfelt satisfaction to him, to see how these three boys,

[1] Mr. Otey was at that time a member of the Masonic Order, and afterwards attained its highest degree. He admired the beauty of its ritual and the purity of its precepts, but regarded the whole system as a mere reflection of the brighter sunlight of the Gospel.

in after-days, adorned their well-deserved honors with the higher distinction of a Christian life.

The education of youth was always, to the Bishop, a subject of the deepest concern; and, during the whole of his ministry, he endeavored to awaken and keep alive an interest in the establishing of both male and female schools. Tennessee, when he first entered it, was the abode of the pioneer and the hardy backwoodsman, who looked with contempt upon learning and refinement, especially in connection with the ministry of the Gospel. The services of the Church were something so strange to them, that the Bishop would afterwards illustrate it by telling what one of these rude sons of the forest was once heard to say to another: "Come, let us go and hear that man preach, and his wife jaw back at him,"—alluding to the responses made by Mrs. Otey, who was oftentimes the only respondent in the congregation.

The Church in Tennessee was a "little one" indeed, when Mr. Otey determined to make that State the field of his lifelong labors. There was but one Clergyman within its wide borders; viz., Rev. John Davis (Deacon), who had been sent there by a Missionary Society at the North, and was feebly laboring amidst a world of obstacles. Mr. Otey soon saw that help must be obtained, if the Church was ever to have a name and be a power in accomplishing the work so much needed in this portion of the Lord's vineyard. Especially was there demand for some one fully authorized to give form and consistency to the work, and to set in order the little that had already been done. But where and to whom should he look? If there was any one man whom Mr. Otey ad-

mired above all others, that man was Bishop Ravenscroft, by whom he had been ordained, and by whose advice he had come to Tennessee. To him, therefore, he appealed so strongly, that in 1829 that noble Bishop, in spite of rough roads and failing health, undertook the task of visiting that Western field. His coming was hailed with joy by that little flock and its struggling pastor, for the fame of his commanding ability and earnest piety had preceded him. His stay was necessarily short; but its effect was memorable in giving an impulse and a direction to the affairs of the Church at that time, which is felt to the present day. Under his guidance and assistance, the very few Ministers and members of the Church were organized into a Diocese, in Nashville, on the 1st of July, 1829. He preached several times, and a number were confirmed. In his journal he speaks with gratitude of the hospitality of Dr. Shelby and Mr. Francis B. Fogg; and adds, "During my short stay in Nashville, I was greatly delighted and encouraged by the interest manifested among the members and friends of the Church, for the advancement of religion, and the attainment of regular and fixed services." The Bishop visited the little congregation in Franklin, and confirmed several of them. He says in his journal, "I found here, very clearly, the value of Mr. Otey's services to the Church and religion, notwithstanding he is confined and encumbered with the charge of an academy."

In 1830 the Church in Tennessee was visited by Bishop Meade of Virginia, and in that year was held its first Diocesan Convention. Of the visit of Bishop Ives, in 1831, no record can be found.

It was in 1831 that Mr. Otey was made to feel the first of those family afflictions which pressed so hardly on his tender and loving spirit. On the 27th of July, Reginald Heber, his first-born son, a boy of lovely promise, was consigned to the grave, in the tenth year of his age.

But the day had arrived when this limited field was to be opened into a wider sphere, and the humble and patient labors of this man of God rewarded by a higher and more holy office.

In 1833 there were, beside Mr. Otey, but five Presbyters and one Deacon in the Diocese. But so sorely was felt the need of a Bishop to complete their organization, and respond to repeated calls for Episcopal services, that notice was given for a convention to meet in Franklin on the 27th of June, for the election of a Bishop. The following simple and modest notice is taken from the diary of Mr. Otey: —

"June 29. Convention proceeded this day to the election of a Bishop. The choice fell upon myself, as I received every vote but the Rev. Mr. Weller's and my own. May the Lord be very merciful unto me, and strengthen me! Thou knowest, O Lord, that I feel myself unequal to the burthen of this high and holy office; but through thy grace I can do all things which thy wisdom may appoint for me. Grant, blessed Saviour, that in all things I may be faithful and diligent, and wise to win souls. And to thy name be all the honor and praise, and glory. Amen."

At a subsequent date he writes: —

"I have received flattering evidences of the satisfaction felt at my election. But, Lord, do thou give me an humble mind; and never let such things withdraw my eyes from looking upon myself as sinful dust and ashes."

The Presiding Bishop appointed the time and place for his consecration, and summoned to his assistance the Right Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, and the Right Rev. George W. Doane. Bishop White was the consecrator, Bishop Doane preached the sermon (2 Tim. iv. 1–5), and the other two Bishops acted as presenters. This solemn ceremony was duly performed in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the fourteenth day of January, 1834.

As Mr. Otey had never, before this, been north of Mason and Dixon's line, he saw on his journey many objects both new and striking. In a letter to the writer, soon after his return home, he says, —

"The most striking object that I met with, on the whole of my journey, was the venerable Presiding Bishop. I remembered at the time, that I heard you once say that his appearance reminded you of the description which ancient writers give of St. John. The thought occurred to my recollection, the moment my eye rested upon the aged patriarch; and a feeling of mingled awe, veneration, and affection predominated over every other consideration, in his presence."

The reader must pardon another extract from this same letter: —

"I saw your dear friend Montgomery [Rev. Dr. James Montgomery of St. James' Church, Philadelphia] upon the bed of his last sickness. He was full of resignation and peace; and his affections were, as warmly as ever, enlisted in the prosperity of the Church which he loved. He grasped my hand in both of his, with great affection, and told me he knew to what school I belonged, kindled with animation at the name of Ravenscroft, and exhorted me to follow in the steps of that great and good man."

As soon as his consecration was known, he was invited by the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Mississippi to take that Diocese also under his charge. Immediately after his return, finding the field of his labors thus providentially enlarged, he set about devising plans for the more general good of the Diocese.

Next in importance to the preaching of the pure Word of God, there dwelt in the breast of Bishop Otey an earnest desire to promote the cause of Christian education. In his frequent and fatiguing rides through his own and the adjacent dioceses, he witnessed such an amount of ignorance and prejudice, and such mistaken views of religion, as often to make him groan in spirit. *Preaching*, *preaching*, *preaching*, was all that even the better part of the people seemed to care for. Worship or prayer was hardly a secondary consideration; and the ordinances of the Church were regarded as little better than signs of Church-membership, or cloaks, in too many cases, to cover up an immoral life. Each sect gloried in its peculiar "shibboleth;" the brief and undigested lessons of the Sunday school constituted the chief, if not the sole, religious instruction of the young; and, with few exceptions, even the more intelligent seemed to have lost sight of the Church of Christ as a Divine institution, demanding an unquestioning reception of its creed and ordinances.

Soon after his consecration, the Bishop's hands were greatly strengthened by the coming of the Rev. Leonidas Polk into the Diocese. By this active and zealous Clergyman he was largely aided in setting on foot and carrying on his many endeavors to advance the literary

as well as the religious interests of the people of the South-West.

As early as the year 1832, the Convention of the Diocese placed upon its Journal the following declaration: —

"*Whereas* this Convention is deeply sensible of the great want of Clergymen in this Diocese, and also of the wants of our sister Churches of the Southern and South-western States generally; And *whereas* we believe that the interests of this Church can only be advanced in those sections of the Union, above alluded to, by providing Ministers of piety and learning, to labor at her destitute altars; And, also, that the cause of true learning may be most effectually promoted by providing for the instruction of those who are preparing for Holy Orders: Therefore, —

"*Resolved*, That this Convention pledge themselves, if funds can be obtained, to establish, at some eligible location in this Diocese, a *Classical and Theological Seminary of learning*, in order to educate, or aid in educating, persons who are desirous of obtaining Holy Orders."

The Journal does not state by whom these resolutions were drawn; but they bear internal evidence that they proceeded from the vigorous pen of Mr. Otey, who in the following year was elected Bishop of the Diocese. One of the first acts of his Episcopate (June, 1834) was to bring this important subject to the attention of his Convention, then assembled in Columbia. The Bishop and Standing Committee were requested to devise such plans, and take such measures, as might lead to the accomplishment of that object; and report to the next Convention. June, 1835, the Convention met in the Court-House at Jackson. The Bishop, in his Address, renewed the subject; and that part relating to it was

referred to a committee consisting of Rev. Messrs. Polk and Chilton, and Messrs. Hatch, T. Jones, and H. G. Smith, of which the Rev. Leonidas Polk was chairman. The committee, in making their report, expressed their full approval of the Bishop's recommendations.

Before his Convention of 1836, he once more brings up the subject, pressing it most earnestly on their attention. The following extract from his Address will abundantly show how it had taken possession of his thoughts, and of his plans for the wide and permanent interests of the people of the West. He had not long returned from the General Convention of 1835, and from his first visitation of the Diocese of Mississippi, when he writes: —

"Connected with my journey to the South-West, was an ardent desire to forward an object which has already been a subject of deliberation and advisement with you. I refer to a projected plan of a *Literary and Theological Seminary*, to meet the wants of Episcopalians in Tennessee and Mississippi and Louisiana. It was my expectation, when I left home, that I should be able to obtain subscriptions in sufficient amount to justify the adoption of measures at this Convention, to determine upon a site, and proceed to the erection of the necessary buildings. I have not permitted myself to doubt that the assurances given me will yet be made good. And, that my expectations were not realized last winter, I am of the deliberate persuasion was owing to fortuitous circumstances, as unforeseen as they were utterly beyond the control of the friends of the measure."

After briefly stating what these circumstances were, he entered at some length on the reasons which convinced him that this measure should be perseveringly followed up, even though under an increase of present

discouragements. His argument was founded, first, on the vast resources and growing wealth of the people of the South and West, evincing that there were means more than sufficient for the purpose; and, next, on their sensible want of such educational facilities, shown in the sending of their sons and daughters to be educated at the North, to the injury of their health, and the weakening of their domestic and social ties. He then showed that the security and happiness of a people, especially such as we are, rest upon the moral sentiment of the community, more than upon the nature of its government and laws; and that nothing but the combined force of education and religion could successfully contend with the growing wickedness and lawlessness of the people of the South-West.

He further pointed out the inefficiency of colleges established by the State, to give a religious or even a moral tone to those whom they profess to educate; inasmuch as they make no provision for the inculcation of Christianity, but rather studiously shut it out from their curriculum. In opposition to all this, he explained what was the prime end and aim of the projected University: viz., to furnish the community with an enlightened and a virtuous class of citizens; to supply means for the acquisition of theological learning, to Candidates for the Ministry, at their own homes; and, also, to raise up a corps of professional teachers, who, in their turn, could impart like wholesome instruction to others. He then brings his remarks to a conclusion by saying, —

"Upon a view of the whole subject, I earnestly recommend to this Convention the appointment of agents in this State, to obtain for this object subscriptions payable in one, two, and three years; and, also, a special agent, to visit the South-West country, under the authority of this body, the ensuing fall and winter, for a like purpose." [1]

A committee consisting of Rev. Messrs. Polk, Muller, and Litton of the Clergy, and Messrs. John Anderson, P. W. Alston, and S. P. Walker of the laity, was appointed to report on that portion of the Bishop's Address which relates to education. The next day we find their Report, as follows, on the twenty-sixth page of the Journal: —

"The committee to whom was referred so much of the Bishop's Address having reference to the establishment of a *Literary and Theological Institution* in the Diocese, respectfully report, that this Convention fully concurs in the views expressed in said Address; and recommends that the Committee on Education, appointed by the last Convention, be continued, and authorized to appoint an agent or agents, to carry into effect the objects contemplated, by soliciting subscriptions, agreeably to the plan set forth in the printed circular, signed by the Chairman of the Committee.

L. Polk, *Chairman.*"

But it was not in his own Diocese only that Bishop Otey showed so becoming a zeal in behalf of the religious and literary improvement of his fellow-countrymen and fellow-Churchmen. In this same year (1835) he suggested and recommended to the Convention of the Diocese of Mississippi, that an "institution, on a scale

[1] It cannot but be gratifying to the friends of Bishop Otey, to see him at so early a date endeavoring to lay a foundation for that system of normal instruction which is now so largely contributing to the efficiency of our schools, both public and private.

sufficiently enlarged to meet the wants of the South in regard to collegiate and theological education, be founded and endowed." In a subsequent Address to the Standing Committee of that Diocese, he says, —

"In view of the want of Candidates for the Ministry in the South, it strikes me as an obvious dictate of prudence and sound policy, to provide in the South-West, as soon as practicable, for the education of young men willing and in other respects qualified to enter the Ministry. All that seems wanting is united effort, and concerted and vigorous action, to found a Seminary which might do credit to our country, perpetuate the glory of our free institutions, widen and strengthen the influence of Gospel privileges, and extend the blessings of learning and religion to our children and our children's children to the latest generation."

With a singular and commendable tenacity the Bishop adhered to this subject; presenting it again and again, in 1836 and 1837, not only to his Conventions, but to every congregation of the Diocese. His great sermon on "Christian Education," delivered before the General Convention of October, 1859, will attest the ability and zeal with which he then and there advocated this his favorite theme. (*Vide* sermon, in the Appendix.) To his Convention in Nashville, 1835, he says, —

"Among the many other interesting and important matters which will claim the attention of this Convention, I deem it highly proper to call up to your notice the subject of education, both as it respects provision to be made for furnishing to the children of Episcopalians, as well as others who desire it, proper facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the arts and sciences usually taught in colleges, as likewise for affording to those who may become Candidates for Orders, more ample advantages than we can at present offer. I would willingly enter into a full exposition of my views

on this subject; but the prevalence of one opinion only among us, as to the expediency of such an object, and the great advantage to be derived from such a measure, render it perhaps unnecessary, and would hardly justify my trespassing on your time and attention."

In his journal, read to the Convention of 1837, he writes: —

"1836, Oct. 3. I addressed the people of Bolivar, at the court-house, upon the subject of our proposed Literary and Theological Seminary. Papers for subscription were left in the hands of Major Bills and Pitzer Miller."

"Oct. 8. At La Grange, I addressed the people assembled in the Methodist meeting-house, in reference to our Seminary; and Mr. John Anderson was appointed to receive donations and subscriptions."

"Oct. 10. A second meeting of the citizens of La Grange being called, they were addressed upon the subject of our Seminary by Mr. Potts. Several thousand dollars were subscribed, and a number of agents appointed to obtain subscriptions."

"Oct. 12. At Somerville, I addressed a few persons at the court-house, upon the subject of the Seminary. Some subscriptions were made, and Mr. George Smith was appointed to obtain more."

"Oct. 31. Addressed the people of Brownsville, in behalf of the Seminary."

He then winds up his journal by saying, —

"In regard to the proposed Literary and Theological Seminary, I will not say more at present, in reference to the establishment of such an institution, than to repeat the firm and deliberate conviction, heretofore expressed, of its absolute necessity to the prosperity of the Diocese. The whole subject is now again commended to your consideration, dear brethren, in the full confidence that your wisdom and prudence will direct you to the measures most proper to be pursued."

These recommendations were not altogether without their fruit, although the good attained was unseen at the time. The subject was stirred from time to time, and thus kept before the public view.

In order the better to effect his educational views, he determined, in the year following his consecration, to remove to Columbia; and accordingly, in December, 1835, took up his residence within a short distance of that place. Here, as soon as he was settled, he opened a school for boys in his own house; giving it the name of "Mercer Hall," in honor of his friend and benefactor, Dr. William N. Mercer of New Orleans, and devoting a considerable portion of his time to its instruction. Owing to a failure in his health, and his necessarily repeated absences from home, this experiment was abandoned after a trial of a little more than two years.

Notwithstanding this serious disappointment, we find the heart of the Bishop still set upon what, next to Christ and His Gospel, seemed to be the goal of his hopes, and the burthen of his prayers. During the winter of 1838, and much of the following spring, the Bishop was confined to his house by a serious illness. But his Diocese experienced no "lack of service;" as the good Bishop Kemper, a man of like godly spirit, kindly took upon him the laborious work in the South and West which his disabled brother had laid out for himself. In his Annual Address of that year, he informs the Convention that the Rev. Dr. Wheat had resigned the rectorship of Christ's Church, Nashville, and would remove to Columbia, to establish a school, which he (the Bishop) hoped, with God's blessing, might supply

the immediate wants of the youth of the Church in that Diocese for their intellectual and religious training, and as a means of educating and preparing a native and efficient Ministry for the South-West. A committee was appointed, with full power, to carry on the enterprise; an eligible lot of ground, of ten acres, near Columbia, was secured; and a liberal subscription, chiefly from the Polk family, obtained in a short time. The school was opened in the fall of 1838. The most sanguine hopes were entertained of its permanency and success; and the good Bishop began to think that here and now was securely to be laid a firm foundation for his much-desired Seminary of religion and learning. A very general interest began to be felt in the work, and many pledges were given of aid when it might be called for. But, alas! two short years had scarcely passed, before it was found that the expenses of the establishment so far exceeded its receipts as abruptly to close its doors. But a more cogent and satisfactory solution of this unexpected failure might have been found in the wide-spread and disastrous crisis in monetary affairs, which in 1837 began to be felt by every class and occupation of the business-world.

But this was not the last we are to see of the Bishop's endeavors to compass his long-cherished design. One more effort was yet to be made. It was thought, that, if a more central position than Columbia could be agreed upon, a more general and liberal interest would be enlisted in its behalf. The county of Madison was accordingly fixed upon as the most desirable location; land and subscriptions were freely tendered; the title of

"Madison University" was adopted for the proposed institution; a liberal charter was obtained; and the Rev. Mr. Polk was appointed to solicit subscriptions both within and without the Diocese. But, when he was on the eve of setting out, he was arrested by that terrible financial depreciation, which, beginning in 1837, was not long in pervading the whole country.

Such were the repeated trials and repeated disappointments of the good Bishop in his noble endeavors to promote the intellectual and religious culture of his Diocese and of the South-West generally. But who dares count all this as so much "labor lost," or prayer unheeded? May we not plainly see, in these hopes and strivings, the buried seed and the struggling germ which, after thirty years of patient waiting, ripened into the UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH?—an institution which now, in its vigorous infancy, bids fair to realize the most sanguine hopes of its wise and pious founders.

But the zeal of the good Bishop in the cause of religious education was not confined to the boys only, of his Diocese and of the South-West; he was equally convinced of the necessity of giving a like training to those who were, in time, to become the wives and mothers of the succeeding generation. Accordingly, as soon as he had removed to Columbia, with the efficient aid of the Rev. Mr. Polk he set about establishing in that place a girls' school of the highest character. The design met with universal favor and encouragement. Every circumstance of the times seemed to favor the project. A commanding site, embracing four acres, was readily obtained within the limits of the town; and a beautiful

building, sufficiently capacious, and of a castellated form, was erected at a considerable cost. For forwarding and conducting this enterprise until it got into successful operation, much credit was due to the liberality and zealous labors of Rev. Mr. Polk, who was then Rector of St. Peter's Church in that place. The exercises of the school began in 1836, and it very soon attained a high degree of popularity; but unfortunately, before the building was thoroughly completed, it proved to be largely in debt. In 1838 the Rev. F. G. S., who had the reputation of being a most skilful teacher, took it in charge, generously engaging to finish the work at his present expense. For several years the school grew more and more in public favor. But (as will afterwards be seen, in 1852), while in the heyday of its prosperity, its prospects were sadly blighted by the immoral conduct of the very man to whose watchful care it had been so confidently intrusted.

This undertaking was on a scale commensurate with the grave and all-important design of its founders; demanding an outlay of means, and an amount of labor, that would have appalled and deterred any but those two heroic spirits. The Bishop entered upon it with all the ardor of his soul, for he seemed to be literally *possessed* with the subject of Christian education. He spoke of it from house to house. He preached it from the pulpit. He urged it on his Conventions. He made addresses before many large congregations, from Boston to New Orleans. He wrote letters without number, to men of wealth in our Northern cities. He left his home and family for three and five months together, travelling

through all weathers, for the one purpose of extricating the Institute from its burdensome indebtedness. The many discomforts and perils of his journeyings form no little part of those jottings in his diary, which he never thought would be given to the world.

On the election of Rev. Mr. Polk, in 1838, as Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, the whole management of the school devolved on Bishop Otey, who, at the same time, was invited to the rectorship of St. Peter's Church, Columbia. It was with great reluctance that the Bishop undertook the charge of that parish, for he well knew what an amount of weight it was laying upon his already heavily burthened shoulders. His justification to himself and his Convention was, that the claims of a family were weightier than those of a Diocese.

In speaking of Mr. Polk's election, he says to his Convention, —

> "Thus have we lost from the Councils of this Diocese a brother well-beloved; one whose personal exertions were freely contributed to promote the cause we have in hand, and one whose zeal to honor the Saviour led him to be foremost in every good work. Though poorly able to spare so valuable a laborer from the field we have to cultivate, it is consoling to reflect that he has been called to more enlarged usefulness in the Church of God, and that the duties of his high and responsible office have been laid upon one who will not shrink from the faithful performance of them."

In what has already been laid before the reader, from the diary of Bishop Otey and the acts of his Conventions, it is very evident, that as early as the year 1832, and all along till 1857, just such an institution as we now have in the University of the South dwelt in his

hopes and prayers, as well as on his pen and tongue. It is enough to melt a feeling heart, to read the list of his repeated disappointments; and no one can fail to admire the perseverance with which he clung to his dearly cherished ideal.

In the mind of Mr. Polk there no doubt existed a like conviction of the importance of uniting religion with learning in our schools and colleges. For he could not fail to see the great need of such a measure among the uncultivated and fast-growing population of the South and West. Of this reverend gentleman it may be truly said that he was no ordinary man, viewed from any point at which his many-sided personality might be seen. The writer of this Memoir, on a different occasion from the present, thus attempts to describe him: "In disposition and bearing, he seemed like another Leonidas, born to command. In person and appearance, tall, erect, and even majestic, with a voice loud but not unpleasant, a quick and flashing eye, a conformation of features indicative of great versatility of talent, and untiring energy; in conversation, fluent, forcible, and attractive; courteous and chivalric at all times; with elevated aims, and a mind comprehensive and grasping, — this Bishop and General seemed eminently fitted, even from his youth, for the varied and widely differing duties to which he was called."

To this it may here be added, that there was in him an earnestness of purpose, and a concentrated energy of word and action, which, joined to a highly polished and impressive manner, must have made him, in any position "a man of mark." Though not deeply read in

books, he seemed to have an intuitive knowledge of men; and in the way of social intercourse was without an equal. Here, then, was the very man who could, when the right time should come, lay hold on this long-cherished idea, and *force* it upon public attention. That time, after more than twenty-five years of waiting, on the part of Bishop Otey, at length came; finding the world at peace, our people generally prosperous, and the South-western States — Louisiana in particular — awaking to a consciousness of growing wealth, and a need of broader and higher educational advantages. This, their greatest need, had been from time to time, in public and in private, in the house and by the wayside, pressed upon them by the Bishop of Tennessee; but the idea lay dormant, waiting, as it were, for some unusual power to wake it into life. That awakening came in 1857, when Bishop Polk, in a circular addressed to his brother Bishops of the South, told them that the day for debates and resolutions had passed away, and the time for action had come.

Writing to one of his Clergy (Rev. T. W. Humes), Aug. 8, 1856, Bishop Otey says, of the projected University of the South, —

"I have had this matter under consideration for five years past, —nay, much longer; but for five years past I have had a plan drawn out for such an object, under a deep and settled conviction that neither the General Theological Seminary, the Virginia School, Kenyon, Jubilee, or Nashotah, nor all combined, could meet the demands of the South-West. We must provide for ourselves. And I am glad that one has taken hold of the subject, with more leisure and ability than I have, to prosecute it to a happy result."

On an impartial review of this question, the truth of the matter appears to be this: that the success of Bishop Polk would have fallen far short of what it was, if his elder brother Bishop had not so widely, and in various ways, prepared the way for it; and, on the other hand, that the University of the South might at this moment exist only in the hopes and prayers of its friends, if the adventurous and vigorous Bishop of Louisiana had not taken its cause in hand.

In the diary of Bishop Otey, we find the following entry, so characteristic of the modest and generous nature of the man. He had been debating with himself about using, in his Address to the approaching Convention at Jackson, an extract from one which he had delivered in 1836, at Pulaski, on the subject of a Literary and Theological Seminary. He seems, for some reason, to shrink from it as unnecessary, if not uncalled for, "lest it might seem that I wished to claim the honor of originating this great enterprise, which I really do not; for I care nothing for such honor. And, as it has been attributed to Bishop Polk, I am more than willing that to him it shall belong."

In 1841, Bishop Polk having been elected to the Episcopate of Louisiana, the missionary work needed in Arkansas and the Indian Territory was assigned by the General Convention to Bishop Otey; and, about the same time, the Diocese of Mississippi elected him its Provisional Bishop. In January he set out to visit Florida, passing through Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia; making it full five months before his return home. A twofold object was to be accomplished by this long and

hazardous journey, — the one, to minister to the people as opportunity might offer; the other, to solicit aid in behalf of the Female Institute in Columbia. A recurrence to his diary of that year will show a succession of risks and hardships seldom encountered in the lifetime experience of any Bishop. It was in this year that he was shocked and pained by the ill conduct of one of his Clergy. After a fair trial, the Rev. Dr. Muller was found guilty of the charges alleged against him, and the Bishop was compelled to degrade him from the Ministry. On the adjournment of the court, we find these words in the Bishop's diary: "May God be merciful to our errors; and pardon our mistakes and want of wisdom, if in any thing we have failed in duty to Him, to His Church, or to our brother." The subsequent career of that unhappy culprit showed that he had yet to sink still lower in moral turpitude.

Between 1842 and 1844, the Bishop made a visitation of Mississippi, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory, in which he travelled from three to four thousand miles. Some idea may be formed of the risks and perils encountered on those long and wearisome journeys, from the following part of a letter to a friend (W. C. Hopkins), giving some experience of his trip to the Indian Territory. He was accompanied, a part of the way, by a Rev. Mr. Harris.

Steamer "Evelina," Mississippi River, April 10, 1844.

My Dear Hopkins, — By the above caption you will perceive that I have once more, through God's goodness, reached the precincts of civilized life. Right glad am I that I have got out of that Indian country. If I had any curiosity to see the red man

at home, in his native state, it has been fully gratified. . . . We set off for Fort Towson, neither of us knowing one foot of the road. The first day's ride of forty miles, through miry bottoms, brought us just to the borders of the Indian country. . . . We were directed to take a trail at a certain point on what is called the "Military Road," and to follow it. We did so; it led us over hills, by the edge of precipices, along the tops of mountains, and through bogs and swamps deep, miry, and horrible beyond any thing I had ever conceived of as passable by human beings. Once we got into a low bottom, covered with water between knee-deep and saddle-skirts, in every direction, as far as the eye could see. The trail led straight into it; but which way it took through it, or where it went out, was the point to be settled. Many a philosopher, and many wiser preachers than we, would have been puzzled to determine the question. Mr. Harris left every thing to me, either because he was utterly posed himself, or else he wished to see how I could manage. Being a taciturn man, he said nothing, at least till we got through the bog; and then remarked, "*Bishop, you know something about swamps.*" . . . We arrived at the bank of a creek which last night's rain had made impassable. We had to encamp in the wet bottom, the air chilly, and the snow still falling. The next day we got over, and came to a river called the Poteau, a deep and rapid stream, and without a ferry-boat. We again pitched our tents, and at the end of three days were barely able to get over in safety. By this time you may well suppose that the novelty of such an expedition had been succeeded by a very different feeling. I had had enough of the romance of a soldier's mode of life to make me right glad, two days after, to find myself in comfortable quarters.

These long and repeated absences of the Bishop could not but be sorely felt by his family; especially by Mrs. Otey, on whom was devolved the care and responsibility of a large and increasing household. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the following, written on a blank leaf of one of his earliest diaries:—

"Dec. 2, 1834. My husband left home to-day, for Mississippi and the Western district. My trouble and distress are renewed at this departure. God grant that I may take these things more patiently, and trust more to Him who has been so kind and merciful to me, and will always do what is best for those who love Him."

The following is an extract of a letter addressed to the Bishop, Oct. 18, 1842: —

"This, you know, is our wedding-day. How different are my feelings from what they were this morning twenty-one years ago! Then my spirits were buoyant, and full of bright hope; willing to forget all the past, as the beloved object was almost in possession, who was to make me completely happy forever. But now I feel as if I were standing alone, full of care and trouble and disappointment. But, no doubt, it is all for the best for my poor soul."

In 1844 the Bishop was invited to the permanent rectorship of St. Peter's Church, Columbia. It was in this year that Bishop H. U. Onderdonk was brought to trial. Through force of circumstances, and very much against his inclination, Bishop Otey became his "presenter." In speaking of it to his succeeding Convention, he says, —

"Never, in the course of my life, have I been called on to perform so painful and distressing a duty. Bishop Onderdonk was one of my consecrators; and, from the day of our first acquaintance, our intercourse had always been of the most friendly and cordial character. But when grave charges, made under oath, were preferred against him by responsible persons; and when those who had known him long, and, as I supposed, intimately, refused even to examine the affidavits which so deeply implicated his character, — I felt that duty to him, as well as to the Church, required me no longer to hesitate, so far as depended on me, in placing the whole subject before an impartial and competent tribunal."

During the year 1844, the Bishop felt compelled, in duty to his Diocese, to resign his Missionary Jurisdiction of Arkansas and the Indian Territory; and, about the same time, gave up also his Provisional charge of the Diocese of Mississippi, as the Rev. Dr. Hawks had just been elected to that office, and it was generally supposed that his election would be confirmed by the General Convention.

In 1846, the Female Institute being still encumbered with debt, the Bishop, at the suggestion and request of Northern brethren, sent out a very strong appeal in its behalf. The result, however, fell far short of his reasonable expectations.

The year 1847 was a time of deep sorrow and loss to the good Bishop. In the midst of a visitation of his Diocese, he was unexpectedly turned back by the illness of one who seems to have been his favorite child. On reaching home, May 28, he writes: —

"*Mihi atra dies!* The darkest and bitterest day of my life! My noble-minded, generous-hearted, and beloved child, Sarah McGarock, departed this life to-day at 12 M. O God, Thou hast indeed smitten me down, and crushed me. I most humbly beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ, to bring me at last to rejoin her happy, and, as I trust, glorified spirit, in a holier, better, and purer world."

The most cursory view of his diary will show how the bitterness of that trial would again and again, to the very end of his life, come back to him, by night and by day, in solitude and society, and in distant lands, as well as among the scenes and companions in which she once delighted.

But, great as was this blow to the tender heart of the

Bishop, he was yet, and very soon, to undergo another and to human view an equally mysterious loss, in the death of Rev. Philip W. Alston, Rector of Calvary Church, Memphis. Mr. Alston had come, with the elder members of his family, from North Carolina, in 1830, after being distinguished at the University of that State, for his brilliant intellect and loveliness of character. Ordained by Bishop Otey in 1840, he commenced his labors in Memphis, and soon became an influential member of the Councils of the Diocese. The Bishop admired him, loved him, and leaned upon him. His death was sudden, and in the midst of a Convention assembled in Columbia in June, 1847. The whole Diocese was thrown into mourning, but by none was he more lamented than by him from whom he had received his high commission. In speaking of Mr. Alston to the Convention, the day following his death, the Bishop uses the following apparently *over-wrought* terms of praise: —

"In the stores of his various and accurate information; in vigor of intellect; in soundness of judgment; in the readiness with which he would lay hold upon, and unfold, and make clear, difficult subjects; in the happiness and appositeness of his illustrations, making all arts, sciences, trades, and the outspread volume of nature, tributary to his purpose; in the power of invention; and in the beauty, strength, and harmony of his composition, — I deem it no extravagance to say that I have never known his superior at the same age, if, indeed, his equal can be found anywhere in the Church. And, — what may appear the crowning grace in his character, — with all his admirable qualities of mind, was combined a most childlike and winning simplicity. When shall we look upon his like again?"

But there was yet in store for the Bishop another test of his submission to the calls of God. Heber had gone; Sarah had followed; now the sweetest and dearest lamb of his fold was demanded: the lovely little Fanny, in the first budding of her charms, and in all the winning graces of childhood, must be given up. She was the darling, the enchanter, and the playfellow of her father. Of this trying event he thus writes, Feb. 6, 1848: —

"A day of deep bereavement and sorrow this has been. My precious and darling child Fanny, the image of her dear sister Sarah, struggled all day with scarlet-fever; and last night her spirit was released from its clay tenement, and borne, I trust, on angels' wings, to the Paradise of God."

Three days later he writes: —

"The world and all that is in it seems to me to be sad. I am low down in the mire of despondency; but God sees my heart, and He knows that I do not falter in my purpose to love and serve Him, — no, not for a moment. Oh for the spirit, blessed Lord God, of humble submission to Thy will!"

On the refusal of Rev. Dr. Hawks, in 1844, to be re-elected to the Episcopate of Mississippi, the Standing Committee of that Diocese had prevailed on Bishop Otey to take them again under his care. But he now saw that it was fully in their power to have a Bishop of their own; and accordingly resigned at once, by way of spurring them to action.

In his address to the Mississippi Convention of 1848, he says, in speaking of the great good effected by the late General Convention, —

"The only drawback to peace and prosperity and friendly intercourse was the formation, among some of its members, of

an 'Evangelical Association' for arresting the alleged tendency of the Church to corruption, and for correcting the errors which were said to pervade the whole body."

In the list appended to their published circular, he saw the names of many brethren whom he loved, gave them credit for zeal and piety, and purity of motive, but denied their right to pronounce judgment upon the characters of brethren who differ with them, and of proclaiming to the world that "error, soul-destroying error," is at this time pervading the whole Church.

He then adds, —

"I declare my conviction that this movement is the most dangerous to our peace that I have ever known to be made in the history of our Church; and, if sustained by any large number of our Communion, is inevitably destined to end in schism. I deny the right and authority of this Association to send its publications, without my consent, into the Diocese of which I am the overseer. And I exhort you, brethren, to have nothing to do with an enterprise which undertakes to correct, through an irresponsible Association, what it would not attempt through the General Convention."

The year 1849 being a year of cholera, and the State of Tennessee threatened with the infection, the Bishop sent forth to his Diocese a Pastoral Letter with prayers suited to the occasion. Later in the year, he issued another Pastoral on "Christian Manners," cautioning his people against a too free indulgence in wordly amusements.

1850. The months of February and March of this year were spent in Mississippi; chiefly in seeking to recover his health, in visiting old friends, and in giving to

that Diocese a Bishop of its own. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth day of February (St. Matthias' Day), in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, he consecrated the Rev. William Mercer Green, D.D., to the office of a Bishop in the Church of God, and for the Diocese of Mississippi. The Bishops present and assisting were the Right Rev. Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana; Right Rev. Nicholas H. Cobbs, Bishop of Alabama; and the Right Rev. George W. Freeman, Bishop of Arkansas. To the cursory reader, there may seem nothing particularly noteworthy in this act of consecration; but, to one acquainted with the antecedents of the parties, it presents a remarkable instance of the vicissitudes of time, or, rather, the orderings of Providence. A retrospect of just twenty-five years would bring to view the present consecrating Bishop receiving baptism at the hands of him upon whom he is now conferring the highest office in the Church.

The health of the Bishop was at this time very infirm. He was, in truth, "broken down." His long and repeated journeyings, and frequent attacks of illness, added to the cares of a family and a Diocese, had undermined a constitution originally of the stoutest cast. This now began to be seen by his many friends, who, on his return from Mississippi, insisted upon his giving himself a long rest, and devoting his chief attention to the restoration of his health. To this end, a sea-voyage with a few months of travel in Europe was recommended; and a sufficient sum to meet the expense was pressed upon him by his friends. Accordingly, on the 12th of April, 1851, he embarked from New York, in the ship "Waterloo,"

accompanied by several of his Tennessee acquaintances. The tenth day after sailing, the ship encountered a severe gale, which threatened at times to ingulf her and her living load. Great fear was expressed by many of the passengers, whilst the Bishop looked on with awe and composure of spirit. Though spared the affliction of sea-sickness, he suffered much from his old diseases, and for want of the many comforts which his weak and disordered condition demanded.

Before setting sail, the Bishop addressed the following farewell to his Diocese: —

Brethren of the Clergy and of the Laity, — For the first time in the course of twenty-three years, I shall be deprived of the high privilege and great pleasure of meeting with you in Convention. It is a privilege which I have always prized, — a pleasure which nothing short of stern necessity or duty would lead me to forego. Often in your assemblies have I realized the blessedness of which the Psalmist speaks, when he says, "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity!" Coming together after a year's labors in our respective and widely scattered parishes, we have our trials to recount, our afflictions to mourn over, our joys to communicate, our deliverances to mention, our many blessings to commemorate; and, in all, to know and to feel that we have the warm and spontaneous sympathy of loving and confiding hearts. Who of us does not feel that it would be a sore deprivation to be absent from such a gathering-together of the faithful in Christ Jesus? But, though absent from you in body, I trust we shall be united in spirit, and that through your prayers, which I earnestly bespeak, "I may be restored to you the sooner." When this communication shall be read to you, I shall, if it please God, be in a distant land; seeking through a change of climate and scene, and through cessation from labors in which I have been engaged for the last seventeen years, a restoration to health. For the kindness of those friends who have enabled me to travel, and

for the interest which my brethren, both lay and clerical, have manifested in my happiness, I have no words adequately to express my sense of gratitude. May God, in his goodness, crown them with all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus.

The following is an extract from a hurried letter addressed, at the same time, to his three daughters: —

Dear Virginia, Henrietta, and Donna.

My Beloved Children, — I have but a moment to write a line, and to say, May the God of peace and love be with you, bless, preserve, and keep you! I intended to write a letter to each of you, but have been prevented by the calls of company. The hour to embark has come; and I can say only a few words to intimate how full my heart is, at this moment, of love and tenderness for you all. For my dear Donna, I feel most solicitude. Could I know certainly that she would daily strive to imbibe the spirit of Christ and his Gospel, how happy would I be! Let us, my dear children, strive to set our minds and hearts more on heavenly things. I pray for you daily, that this may be so. Don't think me low-spirited: on the contrary, I am cheerful and tranquil, far beyond what I anticipated. . . . Again, farewell! May God watch over and guide us in all our ways, and bring us to meet again, and, at last, to rejoin our dear ones who have gone before us, in mansions of eternal life and bliss.

Your loving father,

JAS. H. OTEY.

The voyage was a long and tedious one, consuming the whole of twenty-seven days. Liverpool was reached on the 8th of May; and he gives, in a letter to Rev. Mr. Tomes, the following amusing account of his first appearance on British soil: —

"After getting through with the custom-house, I sallied forth, wrapped in my cloak, with my cap on, — giving me an appearance of extraordinary longitude, — to find my friend Mr. Jackson, on

whom my bills were drawn. As I passed along, I was amused, and could not refrain from smiling, at the manifest curiosity which my appearance, or manner, or gait, or something, — I know not what, — excited among all who met me. They would look at me, and occasionally stop, and look back after me. Upon nearing Mr. Jackson's office, I had to cross a square; and, stopping at the corner, inquired of a gentleman the precise point of my destination. Mr. Jackson was at the opposite corner, a hundred yards distant. Some person remarked to him, at the instant, 'Yonder is a very tall American.' Mr. Jackson saw me, and started immediately to meet me; and said, on coming up, 'I was sure it was you, Bishop, when you started across the square; and I came to meet you.' — 'But how did you know me, Mr. Jackson? Is there any thing peculiar or distinctive in us Americans?' — 'Oh,' said he, 'we know them by their gait, and we have few men so tall as you.'"

On the following Sunday, he writes in his diary: —

"Attended St. James' Church, where thanks were publicly returned to God, in my name, for deliverance from the perils of the sea."

After remaining in Liverpool long enough to replenish his wardrobe, and adapt it to the new relations in which he found himself, he visited several places of interest, such as Manchester, Newstead Abbey, Oxford, and Stratford-upon-Avon, before proceeding to London. At last, when he reaches that great city, he writes in his diary: —

"May 20. And here am I in London, that 'exceeding great city,' — the modern Babylon as it is sometimes called (less, I hope, on account of its abominations, than the variety of its languages, and the richness of its merchandise); the capital of the British Empire, upon whose dependencies the sun never sets; the commercial emporium of the world. Here I am, in this mart of nations, where I never expected to be."

In a short time, he was receiving from the Bishops and Clergy, and our American minister, every attention which he could well have expected or desired. Both here and at Liverpool, it was his good fortune to hear some of the best preachers of the day, such as M'Neil and the Bishop of Oxford; but he writes: —

"I did not seek the opportunity of hearing the great and distinguished preachers; for I find, that, when I listen to a great man, my mind is too apt to be dwelling upon the man, to the forgetting of his subject."

The invitations which he received were numerous, and he acknowledges them gratefully; but he could not help perceiving the striking difference between the manners of that people and of those he had left behind him. He says, —

"Sat down to dinner at 8 P.M., and passed my time as pleasantly as I could, in a country the manners of whose people are cold, stiff, and all the time constrained. These folks here, when they would even treat you with marked attention, seem nevertheless to speak and to act with an air of constraint; as if they feared they might lose some of that dignity or consequence which they claim, or affect to claim, as belonging to their rank or condition. There is no positive want of politeness, but a manifest deficiency in efforts to make a guest feel easy, and, as we say in America, *at home*."

It is hoped that an occasional extract of similar kind, from his diary, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

"SUNDAY, June 1. The Bishop of London having yesterday furnished me with a ticket of admission to the Royal Chapel of St. James, I drove thither at 8 A.M. The Clergyman read the Ante-Communion Service, preached a short and practical sermon, and

proceeded with the Communion Office. On rising from my knees after partaking, I was surprised to perceive that the Duke of Wellington had been kneeling beside me; and I was much gratified that it was so. Here was a curious or interesting circumstance, at least to myself. That the conqueror of Napoleon should kneel by my side, at the same altar, professing his faith in that Saviour whose blood of atonement was poured out for the sins of the world, was an incident which I surely never anticipated among the bare probabilities of life."

The next day, the Bishop set out for Great Malvern, the celebrated hydropathic establishment which had been earnestly recommended to him as most likely to restore him to health. He describes the village as situated on the side of a mountain, commanding a full view of a most lovely valley, and forming altogether a most beautiful picture to the eye.

After submitting for two weeks to the regimen of the establishment, he returned, by way of recreation, to London. On attending St. Paul's Cathedral, he was unpleasantly impressed with the intoning of the service, as exceedingly *malapropos*. He says, —

"Besides depriving the people of their share in the worship, it is objectionable from its wearisomeness, monotony, and indistinctness, — so that it reaches neither the head nor the heart, neither the feelings nor the understanding."

Monday, June 17, there was a meeting of the friends of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in St. Martin's Hall, favored with the presence of Prince Albert. Speeches were made by the Bishop of London, Lord John Russell, and others who had been appointed to do so. It was very

natural for Bishop Otey, coming as he did from a foreign land, to expect to be appointed also; but he was unintentionally overlooked. Several of the speakers, especially the Duke of Newcastle, made friendly references to the American Church and people. At the close of his speech, Bishop Otey asked the Duke if he could not make an opportunity for him to address the meeting. The Duke replied that he had nothing to do with it, etc.[1] The Bishop then said, "Sir, I am an American Bishop; and I think it becoming the occasion, that I should be allowed to respond to the sentiments which have been so kindly expressed toward my country, and the Church of which I am a Minister." He then beckoned to the Bishop of London, who spoke to Prince Albert.

"In a minute or so, I was informed that his Royal Highness had granted leave to me to make a short address, confining my remarks to the particular topic on which I wished to be heard. So soon as the Earl of Harrowby had concluded, the Bishop of London announced my name to the meeting; and I rose in my place, and made the following address, as nearly as I can recall the words: —

"'May it please your Royal Highness: I beg leave to express my deep sense of the kindness which allows me the opportunity of addressing a few words, through you, to this large and respected assembly. It is in keeping with the manifestations of friendly interest towards the United States, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, which it has been my happiness to witness in every part of England which I have visited. Believe me, sir, that this feeling of kindly regard is warmly reciprocated and carefully cherished towards the Church of England, by the members of that communion of which I am in some sort the representative here to-day.

[1] The Duke, at meeting with the Bishop the day following, made a suitable apology.

I should not have sought the opportunity to say a word on this occasion, but for the kind and even complimentary terms in which reference has been made to the people and Church in the United States, by the speakers who have addressed your Royal Highness, and especially by the noble Duke who moved the resolution now under consideration. The merits of that resolution, it is not my intention to discuss. I know that I must not detain the meeting, at this late hour, by making a speech. But his Grace was pleased to quote the language of an American Bishop, and adopt it as the expression of his own sentiments. I am authorized to speak for that right reverend prelate, as I am for some others in the Episcopate of the American Church; and I beg leave to say that he will and that we all shall feel happy at this and at every manifestation of love and kindness, which our brethren on this side of the Atlantic shall give us; in the earnest conviction and hope that each and every such mark of friendly regard will strengthen the ties of amity between two powerful nations, and knit the members of our communion together in the closer bonds of that fellowship called the "Communion of Saints." Before I take my seat, I beg leave to say one word confirmatory of all that has been advanced here, this afternoon, as to the importance of increasing the number of Bishops in order to extend the Church. I mean not to argue this point, but simply to bear my testimony, formed upon personal observation and experience. When, twenty-six years ago, I removed to the State of which I am now Bishop, there was not an organized congregation of Episcopalians within its limits, nor was there a Clergyman of the Church within two hundred miles of my residence. Within eight years, the ecclesiastical organization of the Diocese was completed by the election of a Bishop; and within five years more, the number of Clergymen in the Diocese had increased from six to twenty-one. Such has been the result, I believe, without exception, in the history of all our recently organized Dioceses. And it is my firm persuasion, that the Church of England cannot take a more direct and effectual method to advance the cause of our blessed Redeemer and His Church in the world, than by having Bishops established in all the colonial dependencies of the British Empire. . . . It has been said, sir, by an Ameri-

can orator, that the roll of the British drum does not cease at one of the military posts of this mighty kingdom, before it is taken up at another, and that thus the warning sound of her power is prolonged and heard, girding the globe. We can scarcely forget that it will be thirty-six years to-morrow,[1] since the meteor flag of Britain floated high in air, amidst the triumphant shouts of victory; but, sir, it will be more to England's substantial honor and glory, if the beacon-lights of the missionary enterprise, kindled by her sons, shall be multiplied until their radiance, spreading and intermingling, shall at last so blend as to form a sea of glory, and cover all the earth.' "

The Bishop's speech was received with unbounded applause; and, a few days after, was thus cordially acknowledged by the Archbishop of Canterbury: —

" At a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, held on June 20, 1851, it was resolved that the cordial thanks of the Society be given to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Tennessee, for the service rendered by him to the Society, at the public meeting recently held in commemoration of its third Jubilee.

" (Signed)

"J. B. CANTUAR."

It may not be without interest to the reader, to see here a description of Prince Albert, as he appeared to the Bishop on that occasion: —

" I was seated on the platform, with the lords, nobles, dukes, etc., and not more than eight feet from the Prince. So I had a good opportunity to scan his features well; and I am constrained to say, that after a rigid scrutiny of his external appearance, etc., I never have seen a more perfect man. He is by much the finest-looking man, take him all in all, that I have seen in England or out of it. His form is noble and symmetrical, at least six feet, or a little more, in height, and well-proportioned. His countenance

[1] Anniversary of the battle of Waterloo.

is grave and dignified, without severity, and his whole bearing that of the well-bred and accomplished gentleman."

The next day, being invited, together with many other Bishops, to dine with the Lord Mayor, he was, on entering the ante-chamber, subjected to a temporary mortification, through the blunder of a servant and his own want of acquaintance with the multitudinous formalities practised on such occasions. The dilemma was momentary only, was not perceived by any other than himself, and was soon forgotten after receiving a hearty welcome from the Lord Mayor and the assembled guests. He was very much amused, afterwards, in thinking of the new title — *Bishop of Ten-as-see* — given him by the usher who announced him. Not feeling in a very good humor, on account of the provoking circumstances of his arrival, and all the formalities of the reception being at an end, he says, —

"I took my stand in the company, resolved that I would make advances to no one, but that, if any were made, they should come from others. This I very soon found made me an object much sought unto. Very many persons desired an introduction to me, and expressed the high gratification they felt, the day before, in hearing my speech at St. Martin's."

The dinner was all that it was in the power of wealth and cultivated taste to make it. The "grace," or blessing, was sung by the sweet voices of a choir provided for the occasion; and the whole was wound up, as usual, with abundant speech-making.

"In response to the Lord Mayor's toast, expressive of good wishes for the prosperity of the Church in the United States, and

making some reference to myself [the Bishop says], I arose, and spoke, as nearly as I remember, as follows: —

"'My Lord Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen, — I beg leave to express my acknowledgments for the honor done to me by connecting my name with the sentiment which has just been proposed to this company, and to return my thanks for the kind terms in which you have expressed your good wishes towards the Church of which I am a Minister. It is not my purpose to make a speech to your Lordship and this worshipful assembly, and that for two very substantial reasons. First, I am forbidden by my physician; and, secondly, I do not feel capable of entertaining this company in such a way as to justify my occupying their time and attention. I take occasion, however, to say that I feel a peculiar satisfaction in bearing testimony, in this presence, to the deep interest which is felt in America towards the people and Church of England. I believe it is reciprocal. Why should it not be so? We are of the same blood; we are descended from you; we have the same laws, and nearly the same institutions. It is to our mutual interest to cultivate friendly relations; and we are, in a great measure, necessary to each other. We want your surplus labor, to fell our mighty forests, to construct our roads, open the navigation of our rivers, and develop the rich resources of our great and growing country. You want our raw materials, — the products of our soil, — to give employment to your many manufactories. You have evidences of our friendly disposition, in the readiness with which, some years ago, we supplied some portions of your suffering population with food, when famine was apprehended, in Ireland especially, from the failure of the crops. You have had more recent evidences of the same sentiments of friendly regard, in the responses made by the Bishops of America to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. There is indeed a bond of union far stronger than all mere secular interests, which should and does unite us together, — a bond of union more sacred than all others, a bond more indissoluble than that which unites even man and wife. "What is that?" you will ask. It is the bond which unites us in the fellowship or "communion of saints." All other unions, even the nuptial tie, last only "till death;" but this

is for eternity. We shall still be one in Christ Jesus, when the changes and chances of this mortal life are over, and eternity shall have closed in with all its mysterious and changeless solemnities. I will detain you but a moment longer, sir; for, as I said before, I am forbidden to make a speech. America and Great Britain now present a most interesting aspect to the philanthropist, the statesman, and the Christian. The world is at peace, and furnishes a most inviting prospect or opportunity to introduce everywhere the blessings of civilization and religion among all the tribes and families of man. Between our respective governments, all causes of difference have happily passed away. Our boundary-lines on the north-west, as well as north-east, have been satisfactorily adjusted; and the only object of contest now before us seems to be, which shall be most active in diffusing the glorious Gospel of God and our blessed Saviour. Does any man shrink back from the magnitude of the work? Let us but look at the beginning of Christianity, and see the most striking instance of the moral sublime the world has ever witnessed, — eleven Apostles, and five hundred brethren at most, undertaking to overthrow all other systems of faith and hope, and to establish in their stead the simple system of the Gospel. Does any one ask for authority to undertake this work? God has said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Who asks for higher sanction than the commands of heaven's King and this world's Judge? Then we have a righteous cause, and undoubted authority, and these make right. Now, sir, we have a saying often quoted as originating with Brother Jonathan, and which, as it embodies a sound principle of philosophy, and withal is frequently misquoted, I beg leave to state correctly, and to address as encouragement to us all in the performance of our duty. The sentiment is not "Go ahead," as generally said; but, "Be sure you are right, then go ahead." We are sure we are right in this case: we have nothing to do but go ahead. Sir, his Grace the Archbishop, a little while ago, concluded with a quotation of Holy Scripture. In humble imitation of his example, I would only say, as representing American Churchmen, to our brethren in the Church of England, "We wish you good luck in the name of the Lord.'"

The dinner was followed by a splendid party at the residence of Miss Burdett-Coutts, who, as the Bishop thought, must have worn, that evening, diamonds to the value of a half-million of dollars.

After a few weeks' trial of the hydropathic treatment, the Bishop, finding a great improvement in his health, determined to make a trip through the northern part of England, and through Scotland and France and other parts of the Continent. As a *fidus Achates*, or pleasant companion in travel, he was rejoiced to find all that he wanted in Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D., of Hartford, Conn., whom he had recently met at the dinner of the Lord Mayor, and who gladly consented to accompany him. Two spirits more genial, and congenial in all points, are rarely to be found. The chief places touched by them in England were Cambridge, Ely, Lincoln, York, Durham, and Abbotsford. In addition to the lochs and mountains of Scotland, the cities of Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen, and Inverness were successively visited. Nor were Iona, Staffa, and Fingal's Cave forgotten. From Scotland they passed over to Ireland; thence through England to Dover, Calais, and the capital of France. Here they met with many American friends (among them Dr. Mercer and his invalid daughter), and remained for some days amid the delights of gay and splendid Paris. The mountains, lakes, and chief towns of Switzerland came next under view, as also parts of Prussia and Belgium.

On his return to Paris, Sept. 27, the Bishop heard of the death of Miss Anna Mercer, and that it was the intention of the Doctor to leave Liverpool for New York

on the 30th. This at once put an end to his pleasant journeyings, leaving unvisited many places and scenes which from early childhood he had longed, but hardly dared to hope, that he might see. Prominent among them was the Holy Land. This was doubtless a great disappointment to the Bishop; for, in writing to the Rev. T. W. H. just before setting out on his voyage, he says, —

"I have a strong desire to *see Jerusalem*, and stand on Mount Olivet. Methinks I could pray with fervor on that spot. I care not about classic ground, or objects of mere curiosity; but I want to behold, in the freshness of a living and present reality, the localities which are associated in my mind with the great truths of Redemption. This seems to me to be a natural feeling, and may, I think, be turned to profitable account. How I would rejoice, my dear Humes, to kneel by your side, and pray upon Mount Olivet, or on lovely, mournful Calvary!"

The relations of the Bishop and Dr. Mercer were of a tender and endearing kind; and it is believed that it was chiefly upon the liberal bounty of the one, that the other was enabled, by travel, to regain his health. Without an hour's delay, the Bishop hastened to overtake and accompany his afflicted friend, and return with him to his now childless and cheerless home. Anna Mercer was a girl of true piety, lovely in disposition and in person, the only child of a doting father, and the sole prospective heir to his great wealth. That she should thus have been cut off in her nineteenth year, was, as the Bishop wrote on hearing of it, "sad, *sad*, SAD!" The Doctor, with his embalmed charge, was found at Liverpool, ready to embark. They sailed Oct. 2, in the

steamer "Atlantic," and, after a boisterous voyage, reached New York on the 15th. The next day, the Bishop writes in his diary: —

"Awoke this morning, after a comfortable night's rest. I felt it pleasant to be safe on land; and I endeavored to return thanks to God for His great goodness and mercy in bringing me safe through the perils of the sea, to my native country."

It is gratifying to record here, that the health of the Bishop was fully restored; and that it was a lasting pleasure to him, to reflect on the many kind and unexpected attentions which he had received. Among the many whose hospitality he had enjoyed, he makes special mention of Mr. George Gabain and his excellent wife, whose house was his home during nearly the whole of his stay in London.

After a necessary detention of a few days in New York, the party set out on their return South, by way of Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Louisville; but met with many trying and provoking detentions. It was therefore the 29th of March before the Bishop again saw his children around him, and felt once more the delights of home. In his diary of that day, he writes: —

"And here I now find myself, after an absence of more than twelve months, once more under my own roof, and in restored health. How much cause have I to be thankful! Multiplied have been the favors which a gracious and kind God hath bestowed upon me, and I desire to feel humbly and truly thankful. But it is not in man's heart to feel the gratitude which his lips would fain acknowledge. It is of God alone to give the ability to be truly thankful. Lord, tune my heart to love and praise."

But he had returned to meet on the threshold one of the sorest trials of his life. Three days after his arrival, the Rev. Mr. F. G. S., whom he had left in the successful management of the Female Institute, came to make confession to him of conduct disgraceful to a Christian man, and especially to one in so responsible and confidential a position. The magnitude of the situation broke at once upon the astounded and distressed Bishop. The honor of the Church would demand a painful act of discipline at his hands; and here before his view was the probable downfall of an Institution which for more than fifteen years had been the subject of his prayers and labors, and to build up which he had risked both health and life. He could not help feeling, too, as if his own reputation were at stake, although conscious of having done all in his power to make that Institution worthy of the confidence of its patrons. Toward the unhappy offender, also, he felt the deepest pity, while pronouncing upon him the sentence of suspension from the exercise of the Ministry. By a unanimous vote of the Trustees, Mr. S. was promptly dismissed from the charge of the Institute; and its whole management thrown upon the Bishop, thus greatly increasing an amount of labor already hard to be borne. Human language is too weak to express the suffering which he that day endured. That night he wrote in his diary: —

"I have passed a wretched day, and am quite sick, — sick in body, and sick of heart. But ought I to complain, when I see the misery of this man, and the unhappiness of his poor wife? Lord God of mercy and love, pity and forgive us! . . . Unhappy man! may God grant you grace to repent, and may He pardon also my crying sins."

In his Address to his Convention of that year, he thus returns to this painful subject: —

"I would bespeak for this man your sympathy; and not only that, but your prayers, brethren, that he may recover from the pit into which he has fallen, and regain the position of confidence which he once occupied."

A statement of the reasons for the suspension and dismissal of the Rev. Mr. S. was prepared by the Bishop, and published by the authority of the Board of Trustees. Of this he says, —

"God, who knows my heart, also knows that this has been to me both a difficult and a painful task. I have tried not to wound the feelings of Mr. S., and especially would I avoid any thing that might add to the deep affliction of his family. . . . One may indulge in feelings of pity, as much as he please, and still do no injury. But there is a point beyond which we must not go, in our forbearance and leniency towards offenders, when acting in the discharge of public and official duty. I have tried very hard to follow the right path in the difficult circumstances in which I find myself placed."

A few days later, he writes: —

"I have heard with surprise that a paper has been circulated, and signed by a respectable portion of the citizens of Columbia, indorsing the character of Rev. Mr. F. G. S., and assuring him of their *unabated confidence* and support. We may well exclaim, with the old Roman, *In quibus temporibus incidimus!* One is almost disposed to ask what new race of people has sprung up around him, and among whom does he find his lot cast."

So severely was this blow felt by the friends of the Institute, that some of the Trustees proposed to convert it into a boys' school; and others, to sell it, and build in

some other place: but the Bishop, with a few more hopeful friends, resolved to uphold it and carry it forward. But Columbia could no longer be the Bishop's residence. The place and the people among whom he had spent seventeen of the best years of his life, in closest intimacy, must now be visited only in the way of official duty. His kind heart cherished no spark of resentment for the treatment he had received; but, being no more than man, he could but feel as a man, as well as a Christian.

In the Bishop's Address to his Convention of 1852, after speaking of this unpleasant duty which he had been compelled to perform, he says,—

"If any man inquire why I feel so painful an interest in this matter, this is my answer: I am a public teacher of religion, and I claim to have done as much for the cause of female education as any other man amongst us. I have spent the best energies of soul and body, and passed the most vigorous years of my life, in its cause. I am setting up no boastful claim, when I say that but for Bishop Polk, Mr. A. O. Harris, Francis B. Fogg, and myself, the Columbia Female Institute would never have been in existence; that but for my personal and individual exertions, several years after Mr. S.'s administration had begun, it would have been utterly and hopelessly ruined by its load of debt. For five or six years I labored incessantly, being sometimes absent for six months from my home and family, in my efforts to raise funds for its relief. I have worked hard, and worked long, without hope of fee or reward other than the humble expectation of being serviceable to the people among whom Providence had cast my lot. And now to have injustice added to ingratitude, and insult heaped upon injury, is more than I feel disposed to bear without making *this my solemn protest* against it, in the fear of God and in the face of this Convention."

The Bishop's diary will painfully show how much and what prolonged labor it cost him to pay that debt. By his unparalleled exertions it was finally extinguished; and it must be gratifying to the friends of education in the South, and especially to the friends and admirers of Bishop Otey, to know that the Columbia Female Institute has now for nearly twenty years been in a flourishing condition, under the judicious management of the Rev. Dr. George Beckett and family.

Let it here be borne in mind, that, in the exercise of this act of discipline, the Bishop had proceeded upon no doubtful evidence, but upon the voluntary, unreserved, and written confession of the offender, and had kept strictly within the bounds of the authority intrusted to him. He therefore felt keenly the alienation and harsh judgment of those citizens of Columbia who had once been among his warmest supporters and approvers. But the path of duty was clear before him; his best judgment had dictated his course; the wisest and coolest heads of his people both justified and commended his firmness in taking and holding so noble a stand in behalf of female purity, official integrity, and character of the Church. It was also a confirming and consoling reflection to him, that throughout the whole proceeding he was upheld by the unanimous approval of an able Board of Trustees; and, still further, that the sentence which he felt obliged to pronounce was, by the offender himself, confessed to be a milder one than he expected.

About this time there was a painful and general sensation throughout our Church, produced by the trial of

the distinguished Bishop of New Jersey. On account of Bishop Otey's distance from the scene of action, and his having to rely for information chiefly on rumor, and the partial statements of the press, he at first strongly disapproved of the early proceedings of the court; but, when the issue was reached, no one in the Church more heartily rejoiced at it. The writer of this Memoir, having been a member of that court, bears cheerful witness to the fact that the happy termination of that deeply interesting trial was, in great part, due to the wise and temperate exertions of Bishop Otey.

A new turn may now be seen in the Bishop's affairs. Columbia must cease to be his home. Where shall be his next resting-place — if rest for such a one is to be found? It must be in some place where the population is sufficient in number to offer a suitable field for his labors. In Memphis he had many devoted friends, who were pressing him with offers and invitations; and the finger of Providence seemed to point that way. Accordingly the 12th of October, 1852, found him and his family settled, in tolerable comfort, in the suburbs of that city, until a better and more permanent abode could be prepared in the midst of its population.

When he was making his preparations for leaving Columbia, he could not hide from himself a feeling of depression. But he writes: —

"Why should I indulge in melancholy or depressing thoughts, when in the exercise of my best judgment, and after counsel with friends, I am pursuing that course which promises to give me ability and opportunity to be most useful to my fellow-men? If I am in the path of duty, let me not give way to feeling."

At the time of his removal to Memphis, there was but one Episcopal House of Worship in the place; viz., Calvary Church, then in charge of the Rev. Dr. J. T. Wheat. The city having then about ten thousand inhabitants, the need of another House of Worship began to be felt. The coming of the Bishop, it was hoped, would contribute materially to that end; and so it did, but in no very encouraging way at the outset. The following is from the Bishop's diary: —

"Dec. 12. This morning at 11 A.M., I commenced celebrating the worship of God in 'High-tower Hall,' a room over an oyster-saloon, and having also a dancing-academy in an adjacent apartment. The hall is to be used as a billiard-room during the week, while it is appropriated to Divine Worship on Sunday. The association is certainly by no means desirable. But it seems that we can do no better; and the question arises, Shall we worship in the 'house of Rimmon,' or not worship at all?"

The following day, the Bishop succeeded in collecting among his friends a sum sufficient to purchase a small organ.

The text of his first sermon was Rom. xii. 1: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service." Nor was this subject one taken at random from the number which were on hand. He intended it as a keynote to the general tenor of his subsequent discourses, in which he was resolved to lift up his voice against the too free and frequent indulgence of Church-members in the fashionable amusements of the day. The Bishop's views on this subject would be called by many "Puri-

tanical;" but, if he erred, it was certainly on the safe side.

The following extract from his diary may interest the reader, as it presents so gratifying an evidence that the faithful labors of this man of God had not been without the reward which he most desired. It may also serve to show the brethren of Christ's Church, Nashville, from what an unpromising beginning their Parish has grown to its present strength.

"SUNDAY, March 28, 1852. I preached in Christ Church this morning, to a large congregation. I am often deeply impressed, when before a congregation in this House, as I contrast its present condition with what appeared to be the outward form of the Episcopal Church in Nashville, some twenty-five years ago. I was then the only Episcopal Clergyman within two hundred miles of the place; and, after teaching school five days in the week, would ride on horseback to Nashville, on alternate Saturdays, and preach to some half-dozen persons, two only of whom were communicants. I knew and felt, at the time, that I was looked upon with contempt, if not despised, by the great mass of the people."

The encouraging fact may now be added, that, at the very time of preaching that sermon, the Bishop could thank God for sixteen organized Parishes, several Missionary Stations, and twenty Clergymen, one-half of whom were distinguished for ability as well as faithful service.

In the Bishop's Address to his Convention of 1853, after stating that the deaths of Bishops Gadsden, Henshaw, and Chase had followed in rapid succession, within the past Conventional year, he thus speaks of Bishop Ives: —

"But another of our Bishops has fallen, and in a different way. He has put off his armor, but not at the command of the Captain of the Lord of Hosts, but at the call and at the feet of him, who, arrogating that title, opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God. He has abandoned his Diocese, and made formal submission to the Bishop of Rome. He has openly abjured the faith which he once preached, and has gained the unenviable notoriety of being the first of his Order, in our Church, to make a formal submission to the Roman Pontiff. How can we fail to mourn over his fall, in the bitterness of a sorrow almost without hope, and in sadness of heart exclaim, 'Alas! my brother!' Whilst we deplore his treachery, let us pray God to recover him from the snare in which he has been taken."

During this year the Bishop was truly thankful in laying the foundation of Holy Trinity Church, Nashville, and Grace Church, Memphis. He was further gratified at seeing how rapidly the Female Institute was recovering from the sad effects of Mr. S.'s misconduct. But, though it was a living and growing body, it was without a head. In North Carolina there was an old friend and classmate of the Bishop, Mr. William H. Hardin, with his accomplished wife, who were known to be every way fitted for that position. The Bishop undertook the task of visiting them, and happily succeeded in engaging their services. On his return, he had the pleasure of spending a day or two at the University of North Carolina, his *Alma Mater*, and thus feelingly records the pleasant but mournful recollections that then crowded upon him: —

"July 24. A day long to be remembered! I am at my *Alma Mater*, at a place where I passed some of the most joyous days of my life. Chapel Hill! how many overpowering emotions does that

name excite! how many tender recollections does it not revive! how many sweet and holy memories of the blessed dead, of those whose images cling around my heart, does it not bring up!"

Before his return, he also paid a short visit to the home of his childhood.

On the approach of the fourth day of July, of this year, he showed his patriotism, as well as his piety, by putting forth the following notice to his Clergy: —

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN, — The anniversary of our National Independence occurs this year on Sunday. I set forth the enclosed Form to be then used in all our congregations, after the General Thanksgiving, at Morning and Evening Prayer; and respectfully request that a portion of the offerings made by the people on that day may be appropriated to aid the American Colonization Society in its patriotic and Christian efforts to remove the free people of color, willing to emigrate, to the Western Coast of Africa.

Your faithful friend and affectionate Pastor,

JAS. H. OTEY.

1853. It was at the General Convention of this year, that the good Dr. Muhlenberg, with others, presented his Memorial to the House of Bishops, praying that measures might be devised, if practicable, to render our ecclesiastical system more efficient in its influence upon our population, and adapt it more to the actual wants and circumstances of a nominally Christian country. The object of the Memorialists was certainly a very desirable one, but many and great obstacles were to be seen in the way. Who was there that did not desire to see not only more love among Christians, but a nearer agreement in doctrine and discipline, and, if practicable, in organic unity? But where should the

work begin? and who would take the lead? After much discussion, a Commission was appointed by the House of Bishops, to take the matter into consideration, and to make a report to the next meeting. The chairmanship or presidency of that important Commission was, by unanimous consent, conferred on Bishop Otey. In the performance of that duty, he was necessarily absent from his Convention of 1854, and burthened with an extensive correspondence. The Commission held three meetings, in 1854, 1855, and 1856. Many communications were received, and much deliberation was given to the subject. The report which they made to the House of Bishops in 1856 led to the passage of sundry important resolutions; the chief of which was, —

"That in view of the desirableness of union among Christians, and as a pledge of willingness to communicate and receive information tending to that end, and in order to conference if occasion or opportunity should occur, this House will appoint, by ballot, a committee of five Bishops, as an organ of communication or conference with such Christian bodies or individuals as may desire it; to be entitled 'The Commission on Church Unity.'"

But this was not the only good resulting from the Memorial, and the labors of the Commission. Though followed by no immediate and striking effect, the leading design and prayer of the Memorialists began to be generally and more favorably regarded. Like leaven it worked and spread, until it enlisted in its behalf the more thoughtful and influential minds of the Church. And to it may be traced the first exhibition of that motive power which now, under God, is endeavoring

to enrich our public forms of devotion, and adapt the Prayer-Book to the larger number and greater edification of our people. To this source also are we, in good part, indebted for the introduction of lay helpers into the ministrations of the Church, and the inauguration of those societies and guilds, both male and female, which are now so largely adding to the efficiency of our ordained Ministry.

In January, 1858, the house near Memphis, in which the Bishop was residing, caught fire, and was burned to the ground. His loss, however, was but little, as the house had been only rented for his temporary use. It merely subjected him to the trouble of moving into another hired residence, while awaiting the completion of a more permanent one within the city.

In noticing the earlier life of Bishop Otey, it was stated, that, during the whole of his Collegiate course, he was held in high esteem by the Faculty of that Institution, as well as by his companions. As an evidence of this, he for some years held a friendly correspondence with one of its Professors, Rev. Dr. Elisha Mitchell, a Presbyterian divine, after whom the highest mountain-peak in North Carolina has been named. It was on this mountain that Dr. Mitchell lost his life while engaged in completing one of his surveys. His friends, at his interment, passing by the minister of their own denomination, invited Bishop Otey to be the preacher on that occasion. He could not find it in his heart to refuse; and to this friendly office devoted a good portion of the month of June, at a time when private cares and official duties were pressing upon him with unusual force.

To his Convention of 1856, the Bishop speaks, with much gratification, of the improved condition of the Institute ; saying that it was now "prepared better than ever, under Mr. and Mrs. Hardin, to instruct the hearts and minds of the pupils in the faithful discharge of the duties of life, and the responsibilities of our entire being." He reports, also, that he had confirmed only one hundred persons since the last Convention ; and then adds this significant but apparently contradictory remark : —

"That our efforts during the past year have been productive of so little fruit, is doubtless attributable, in some measure, to other causes than the prevailing ignorance and prejudice in relation to our Church. Among these I would mention the prosperous condition of the laity in all secular pursuits. Strange and even paradoxical as it may appear, it is a truth established by all history, and proven by all experience, that a very prosperous worldly condition, and high attainments in the divine life, very rarely consist together. Nothing is more obvious, to a thoughtful and observant Clergyman, than this ; and yet nothing is less considered by a mind blinded by worldly success."

By invitation of the students of the University of North Carolina, the Bishop preached their Commencement Sermon in 1857, on the 1st of June. On his way to the University, he found the Convention of that Diocese in session at Salisbury, and made to their Committee a full exposition of his views and plans touching the proposed University.

The year 1857 was, to the Bishop, rather an eventful one. The organization of another Church (Advent) in Nashville was soon followed by beginning the work

on the future St. Mary's Chapel; a suitable site for the purpose having been given by Col. Robert Brinkley. And now, also, the long-looked-for ideal of a Literary and Theological Institution, which for thirty years had filled the heart and mind of the Bishop, began to take form and substance in the projected University of the South.

In his Annual Address of 1857, after reminding the Convention of the many and earnest attempts which he had made to press this subject upon them, he announces, with joy and thankfulness, the long-looked-for day; saying that a concurrence of providential circumstances was at last inviting to its consideration, and opening a way to the attainment of what he had until then enjoyed only in hopes born but to die in the hour of their birth. He then says more explicitly that

> "A movement has been made, outside of the Diocese, — in which the Bishop of Louisiana, whom we all know and honor for his large and enlightened views, has taken the lead, — which looks to the establishment and endowment of an institution on a most liberal scale. It is proposed to unite the means and efforts of the members of our own communion, and of others friendly to the enterprise, within the ten Southern and South-western Dioceses, in founding a University which shall furnish the youth of this vast and important region with ample facilities for enlarged literary and professional education."

Into this grand and comprehensive enterprise, Bishop Otey entered with all the warmth of his noble and generous nature. He was afterwards elected its first Chancellor, and continued as such to preside in its councils until his death in 1863.

By a general agreement among the Southern Bishops, the fourth day of July, 1857, and the summit of the Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, were appointed as the time and place for the formal organization of the proposed Institution. Bishop Otey, by request, delivered an address suited to the occasion. It was marked with his usual ability, and as patriotic in sentiment as any lover of the Union could have wished it to be. There were present at this meeting the Bishops of Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida, together with some of the leading Clergymen and laymen of all the Southern Dioceses. The style and title of "University of the South" was proposed to be given to the enterprise; a Board of Trustees was appointed; Bishop Otey was made its first President; and every necessary measure was devised to begin the work without delay, and on the most extensive scale.

In the next meeting, at Montgomery, in the following November, a charter was adopted; the name heretofore proposed, viz., "University of the South," was adopted by general consent; and the Bishops of Georgia and Louisiana were appointed general commissioners to canvass each Diocese for subscriptions to the funds of the Institution.

As the giving of this name to the undertaking was thought, at the time, to intimate something of a sectional or anti-Northern feeling on the part of its founders, the writer of this Memoir hopes that he may be excused in stating that it was upon his own motion that that name was first proposed; and that, at that

hour, he gloried in being a citizen and a lover of an *undivided* country. That the proposition was not promptly adopted at the previous meeting, was owing solely to the fear of some of the more sensitive of its friends, that it might have that appearance to unthinking and prejudiced minds.

But a much stronger assurance of the honesty and patriotism of that hour may be learned from the following extract from Bishop Otey's sermon on that occasion: —

"I must now notice an intimation that this movement of ours wears the appearance of *sectionalism*, — an apprehension that it may, however without design, tend to weaken the bonds of our present Union. I repel the unfounded suspicion. It is supported by no act or sentiment or word of those who originated this enterprise, and have labored for its accomplishment up to the present hour. I must meet this apprehension, not out of regard to those who would willingly entertain it, but of those whose love for the Union makes them tremblingly alive to the semblance of any thing inimical to its prosperity. Why should this enterprise be deemed sectional, rather than national? Is it because we have used the name of 'University of the South'? The name is one of convenient description; it is no party war-cry, no sectional pass-word. All such interpretations we utterly disclaim. Is it because it is to be founded on a Southern soil, and must promote chiefly the interests of those contiguous to it? Some geographical position it needs must have. The very nature of the case requires it to be in our midst. Its location looks simply to the wants of a region greater in extent by 7,280 square miles than the original thirteen States of the Union; a region whose urgent necessities can be met only by an institution set up within its borders. Do we any wrong to our brethren, do we violate any pledge of friendship or brotherhood, do we evince any jealousy or distrust, when, in the discharge of a solemn responsibility, we provide for our own, and seek to elevate the society of which we are members?

"We affirm that our aim is eminently national and patriotic, and, as such, should commend itself to every lover of his country. We rear this day an altar, not of political schism, but *an altar of witness* (*vide* Josh. xxii.) that we are of one faith and one household. We contemplate no strife, save a generous rivalry with our brethren as to who shall furnish to this great Republic the truest men, the truest Christians, and the truest patriots. Again, I repel the suspicion because of its injustice to our brethren of the North. Not a Bishop, Clergyman, or layman to whom this subject was mentioned at our last General Convention, but, so far as is known, approved the object, and heartily bade its projectors 'God speed.'

"I appeal to the well-known conservative character of our Church to rebut this groundless suspicion. While year after year furnishes evidence of the unhappy divisions which distract the councils and rend the organizations of other bodies of Christians, our Communion, under God's gracious goodness, — I say it in no spirit of boasting, but of profoundest humility and gratitude, — has been exempt from strife, and has kept the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.

"These facts discountenance the idea that Southern men, in devising a plan of a Southern University, have contemplated evil to this Union. We regard this University as an institution of conservatism. We consider that its influence will be used to still the waters of agitation, to quench the flames of strife, and, diffusing intelligence sanctified by piety, to bind the discordant elements of party into a Union stronger than steel and firmer than adamant."

To Bishop Otey, whose long-delayed hopes seemed thus almost to be fulfilled, this was indeed a season of joy and thankfulness. But it was very soon to be followed by a severe domestic affliction. He was hastily summoned from the mountain, to the death-bed of Rev. Mr. Tomes, Rector of Christ's Church, Nashville, one of his favorite Clergymen, and the husband of his beloved daughter Henrietta. This unexpected and twofold

blow bore heavily on the tender soul of the Bishop. A laborer of so amiable and faithful a spirit could not well be spared from the meagre list of his Clergy; and to his already manifold duties was now to be added that of comforting and caring for a widowed daughter and her three children. The Bishop, in his next Address to the Convention, speaks of Mr. Tomes as "faithful, true, affectionate, and an especial lover of the brethren; one whose daily, we might almost say hourly, delight was to work for Christ and His Church. Never was he so contented, never so well pleased, as when engaged in preaching the Gospel, in visiting the sick, relieving the poor and suffering, and reclaiming the erring and the lost."

The following incident is one that caused no little excitement at the time. On the 8th of August, the Bishop was called to consecrate a new Church at Riverside, in the eastern part of the Diocese, built by Col. N. and the relatives of his wife. This was at a time when what is now generally known as "Ritualism" had gained considerable footing in some of the larger and more advanced cities of the East, but had yet to plant its first footstep among the mountains and valleys of Tennessee. On arriving at the Church, accompanied by Bishop Polk, he beheld a cross on every gate, three crosses on the roof, and one on the belfry. On entering the Church, he found the font at the south door of the Church; and on the altar and super-altar, a large movable cross, two vases for flowers, two very large candlesticks, and five other crosses with multiform devices upon them. This was rather too much for the un-

instructed taste of the good Bishop. He had not been initiated among the more "advanced" of his brethren. He was too old-fashioned to admire or even tolerate such novelties: therefore, at his command, these insignia were all removed before he would proceed to the consecration. Great offence was taken by the worthy family that erected the Church, and no regular services were ever after held in it. It was permitted to fall into decay; and no vestige remains to mark the occasion but the site itself, one of the loveliest that could possibly be chosen for a House of God. Whilst compelled by honesty, and by the truth of this narrative, to record this event, the writer cannot wholly approve it. It was one of those very few occasions in which the dear Bishop's zeal for God got the better of his prudence. But he is fully convinced that no act of similar kind was ever performed with greater sincerity of heart, or under a stronger sense of duty. The only question is, whether the desired changes might not have been effected in the way of kind remonstrance, rather than by the word of command. The friends of the aggrieved party, encouraged by a few meddlers outside the Diocese, raised a temporary clamor against the Bishop, alleging that he had overstepped the bounds of his authority, inasmuch as there was no canon forbidding the use of these symbols. His only reply was, "Canon or no canon, I would do the same again, under like circumstances." Those who were at all acquainted with Bishop Otey knew well that he was no party-man. He might justly have been termed a Catholic, Prayer-Book Churchman, of the old school; and was therefore

tempted to look with suspicion and alarm upon any act or object, however innocent in itself, that might symbolize the heresies of Rome.

In July, 1858, a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University was held at Beersheba; the Charter was accepted, sundry committees were appointed, and the Bishop congratulated his brethren on the general favor with which the enterprise was regarded, and on the large amount of subscriptions already obtained by the exertions of Bishops Polk and Elliott, which amounted to nearly five hundred thousand dollars.

Toward the close of this year, the Bishop, at the instance of Right Rev. Dr. Brownell, the Presiding Bishop, undertook once more, and for the last time, a visitation of the Churches and Missionary Stations in Arkansas.

To the Convention of 1859, he reports that he had confirmed two hundred and thirty-five persons, an increase of more than one hundred over the number reported the preceding year. He mentions this not in a boastful or exultant spirit, but in the way of thankfulness and encouragement.

At this Convention he speaks, in tender and affectionate terms, of the deaths of two of his consecrators, Bishops Onderdonk and Doane; making an acknowledgment of the ability and zeal which had distinguished both in defence of the truth. Of the former he speaks in terms of strong personal affection; ascribes to him a place in the highest rank of successful controversialists; and takes pleasure in remembering that it was upon his own motion, in the House of Bishops,

that the sentence of Bishop Onderdonk's suspension had been remitted. Of Bishop Doane, who had preached the sermon at his consecration in 1834, he speaks as a man of extraordinary endowments, of large heart, unselfish, self-sacrificing, devoted to his friends, an enemy to no man, and as having nobly waged the battle of life.

In 1860 he was admitted to the enjoyment of the new and commodious residence which had been built for him in an eligible part of Memphis; and his remaining days would have passed in quiet and comfort, if he had not seen too plainly dark clouds of war about to overshadow the land. The following is the entry made in his diary, at the opening of this year: —

"Sunday, Jan. 1. The first day of another week, and the first week of a new year, have dawned upon the world; and, by the mercy and goodness of God, I am blessed with the renewed opportunity of perfecting my repentance, and of striving to make my calling and election sure. May each day of this year be employed to the purposes of my Christian calling, and find me advancing in the great work of my salvation."

The only incident that marks this year of the Bishop's life was the laying of the corner-stone of the University of the South. By general agreement, the tenth day of October was appointed for that purpose. The place of meeting was the spot previously selected as the site of the University. It was on the plateau of the Cumberland range, about ten miles north-east from Winchester. Although at that time only an uninhabited mountain-top, it presented an undulating surface, heavily wooded, abounding with springs, and affording magnifi-

cent views of the valleys below. At the appointed time there was gathered there an assembly of at least five thousand people, — Bishops, Priests, Deacons, officials of various degrees, and a wondering multitude of simple-hearted souls from the surrounding country. A fine band of instrumental music was in attendance, and made the mountain ring as it joined in with a thousand happy voices in the refrain of the "Benedicite." By Bishop Otey's appointment, the following order was observed: Bishops Rutledge, Atkinson, and Cobbs conducted the introductory services; Rev. Messrs. J. F. Young and C. T. Quintard led in the Chants; Bishop Elliott made the deposits in the corner-stone; Bishop Polk laid it; Bishop Green took the concluding prayer; and Bishop Otey closed with the benediction. At the termination of this impressive ceremony, an eloquent oration was delivered by Hon. John S. Preston of South Carolina, followed by appropriate addresses from Bishop Smith, President Barnard, Commander M. F. Maury, and Hon. John M. Bright.

But the hand of fire and the sword were soon to blight this sunny prospect. The sound of war was in the air. The following item from the Bishop's diary will plainly show his position at that time, in view of the threatened danger: —

"Dec. 24. Saw Mr. H. G. Smith, and allowed the use of my name, convoking a public meeting of the citizens friendly to the Union of the States on terms consistent with the honor and safety of the South."

Early in 1861, the Bishop addressed a Pastoral Letter to the laity of the Diocese, on the respective duties

of Wardens and Vestrymen. This was soon followed by despatches from his Clergy, saying that they must either omit the Prayer for the President of the United States, or close their Churches. To this the Bishop replied that he had no power of dispensation in the matter. At a Council subsequently held at the call of the Bishop, after much discussion it was determined, by vote, that each Clergyman be left to his own discretion as to the use of that prayer. But a still safer alternative was soon after adopted, by the Bishop's recommending to the Clergy to use the "Ante-Communion Office" in place of the usual Morning or Evening Service. As rumors of war were daily thickening around him, and his prayers for peace seemed to be unheeded, on the 10th of May he addressed a letter to Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, begging that hostilities might be suspended, and invoking the influence of his high position and commanding abilities in giving peace to the country.

The character of that letter may be learned from the following peroration: —

"You know, sir, it is a maxim consecrated by the experience of the world, in morals, religion, and political science, that men may be led when they cannot be driven. You know, and need not be reminded, that the power which controls the hearts and wills of men resides not in the 'whirlwind' — the passions of men; nor in the 'fire' — the persecuting spirit of men; nor in the 'earthquake' — the strength of argument and eloquence: but in the 'still small voice' of kindness and love, that speaks as gently as the summer's breeze. Oh, sir, speak but the words of gentleness and conciliation to your countrymen, driven and tossed by contending passions, like the waves of the troubled sea; and who

knows but that God, the God of peace, will bless your word and deed, and by his mighty power 'still the noise of the waves, and the madness of the people'? Go to the President, and urge him to desist from all hostile measures, and efforts to conquer an unwilling obedience to his government. If to do good be your object, and you succeed, the blessings of millions will be yours. If earthly fame be your wish, you will have erected a monument for yourself, second only, in the grandeur and beauty of its proportions, to his of whom alone, among the sons of men, it has been truthfully said, 'He was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.' I pray your indulgence for trespassing so much on your time, and beg leave to subscribe myself, with profound consideration,

"Your friend and obedient servant,

"J. H. OTEY."

Soon after this, at the request of his Convention, the Bishop put forth a Pastoral Letter on the threatening aspect of the times, and prescribed a Service for a Fast Day, to be observed weekly during the continuance of the present troubles.

In addition to what his two daughters have so graphically and touchingly stated of the home-life and the ever-affectionate disposition of their father, the following extracts from his diary cannot fail to place him in a more striking and endearing light: —

"July 20, 1841. My dear sister Mildred departed this life this morning, in the hope of a blessed immortality. She was one of the purest, gentlest, and meekest beings that I have ever seen. The Lord grant us a happy family-meeting in his Kingdom above!"

"April 19, 1854. It gave me great pain to censure D. for staying out late, last night, with some of her friends."

"Feb. 26, 1842. This is the anniversary of my dear departed Heber's birth. The lineaments of his sweet face are now fresh in

my memory. Grant, O Lord, that my love for him, sanctified by love of Thee, may be a daily incentive to my own soul to press forward with patience and ever-renewed zeal, after that crown of life which I humbly hope and believe my child has received, through Thy mercy and goodness in Christ Jesus our Lord."

"March 31, 1848. This is my dear wife's birthday. I pray God to grant her many happy returns of it; and may blessings spiritual and temporal attend her."

It has already been stated, that in the year 1851 the Bishop, being in feeble health, by the earnest advice and the kind assistance of his friends spent several months in visiting England, Scotland, France, and Switzerland. As usual, he kept his diary; and, if it had been published at the time, it would have excited no little interest in every intelligent reader. It was written, however, with no view to the public eye, but solely for the entertainment and instruction of his children. He of course saw much that was both new and strange, and formed many distinguished and gratifying acquaintances. But whether in the presence of royalty, in the crowded city, or on the lofty Alps, "the loved ones at home" were ever present to him. After returning from a visit to Westminster Abbey and the House of Lords, he writes: —

"May 28. This date calls up the memory of an event which, with all its circumstances, is in a manner burnt into my very soul. This day, four years ago, my beloved Sarah died. Long and sorrowfully did I gaze at her sweet face to-day. It seemed to look tenderly but sadly upon me. Shall I ever again behold those features re-animate with life, — with life immortal, the life 'hid with Christ in God'? May my Father in heaven grant it, for my dear Saviour's sake."

"July 27. The sun, in his annual course, has brought around

the day which I first knew as a day of deep affliction and bereavement. Twenty-one years ago my precious little boy, Reginald Heber, was taken from my arms by death; and the bitterness of grief has not yet passed away."

"Aug. 7. Donna's birthday. Blessings on thee, my dear child!"

"Feb. 7, 1852. Anniversary of the death and burial of my darling little Fanny. Four years ago, I committed her remains to the earth. And, alas! how little has time in its flight done to mitigate the keen sense I entertain of her loss! Every look and feature and movement of that dear child is indelibly impressed upon my memory and my heart. Many hours, in the loneliness of the night, are my thoughts dwelling upon her; and at times it seems as if I could almost penetrate the veil that hides the spiritual world, and see her again. Do the souls of the departed indeed draw near to us in the body, and make us mindful of their presence? I would fain believe it. My children appear sometimes so near to me, that I can almost see them with my eyes. But sight, thank God, is not necessary to assure us of the reality of things."

Of the three departed children of the Bishop, referred to above, Heber lived only nine years. He was a child of great promise, dying July 27, 1831. Sarah lived to pass her sixteenth year, being in mind and disposition all that a doting parent could wish. She had received a thorough education at the Female Institute, being rewarded with its highest honors through her whole course. She was the intelligent companion, as well as the loving child, of her father, — his pride, his chief joy. He returned from one of his long and fatiguing journeys, merely in time to be faintly recognized, as she drew her last breath, on the 28th of May, 1847. Fanny, as described by one of her living sisters, was the "darling of the household," — a child of wonderful fas-

cination; and every way calculated to entwine herself around a father's heart. She had scarcely passed from infancy to girlhood when her heavenly Father claimed her for Himself, Feb. 6, 1848, ten months after her sister. To these three afflictions of the good Bishop, there followed, June 4, 1851, the more serious death of Mrs. Otey, who for forty years had been to her family the helping and loving wife, the fond and watchful mother, and the diligent and provident helpmeet of the household.

May 29, 1852, the anniversary of the death of his daughter Sarah, he writes thus feelingly: —

"Ah! how many pangs of the heart have I not felt at the recollection of this sad day! How often have I watered my couch with my tears! 'Yet Thou continuest faithful, O Thou Holy One of Israel!' When have I not thought of thee, my beloved child, in my wanderings through and over this weary world! At home and abroad, on the ocean and on the dry land, in storm and in calm, by night and by day, climbing the rugged Alps, gazing on scenes of beauty or grandeur, — everywhere and at all times, thou art nearly present to my thoughts. — Lord, forgive a father's too great love for his children! Amen."

In a letter from Rev. Dr. Wheat to the writer, he says, —

"I was much with the Bishop, after the death of his two daughters, and saw how deeply his tender heart (unusually tender, I think) suffered while he spoke of them with passionate fondness; sometimes weeping and sobbing violently, as he recalled their thousand endearments."

In an attempt to portray the character of Bishop Otey, especially in regard to its gentler and more lovable features, it would not be amiss to show how his

compassion flowed out to others beyond the bounds of his own family. If ever there has been a second Barnabas, it might have been seen in him; for he was truly a "son of consolation" to all the distressed within his reach. The poor, the sick, the afflicted, and even the birds of the air, felt his compassion and his help.

Feb. 19, 1844, when on his way to visit the few members of the Church in the Indian Territory, he writes: —

"Heard of a man at the mouth of White River, destitute, sick, and almost dying. I proposed to the passengers to make up a purse for his relief. Of the $9.50 contributed, I gave five dollars, and feel thankful that I had it to give for the comfort of an unfortunate fellow-being. May the Lord raise him up, and restore him to his family."

On unexpectedly meeting with Bishop Cobbs in Mississippi, in 1847, out of the fulness of an affectionate heart he exclaims, "*O quanta gaudia!*"

When about to remove from his home near Columbia, to Memphis, he thus describes his feelings: —

"I begin now to realize truly, that I am about to leave a residence endeared to me by many holy and deeply interesting associations. The very trees in the yard seem to me to be the friends of my children, and especially of my deceased ones. It was under the shade of these oaks that I last saw them in health. *There* is a spot to which one of them resorted to study, and *yonder* I remember to have seen one of them in play; and how often have I seen them all coming down the gravel walk from the gate! And hereafter, I am to behold them no more in these loved spots and familiar walks. God's will be done!"

But the two following extracts from his diary will show a degree of compassion truly Christ-like: —

"Sunday, Jan. 25, 1847. The trap fell, and caught a bird, this morning. I took pleasure in releasing the little captive, and then so setting the trap that the little birds might devour the bait with impunity all this blessed day."

Again, April 25, 1842, he makes this tender and child-like record: —

"I saw a man commit an act, to-day, of wanton cruelty. A wild duck, usually a very timid fowl, was seen swimming with her young brood, eight or ten in number, near the bow of our boat. She was hastening with her young out of the way, as fast as the poor little creatures could swim. A man — a monster in human shape, he ought to be called — deliberately raised his gun, and fired one of the barrels at them. The old duck did not fly. He then fired the second barrel. Still she did not fly, but swam along in front of her young, as if nothing had happened. Three of the poor little ones floated away lifeless from the shot of the inhuman marksman; and the mother-duck pursued after them, with the remainder. The last I saw of her, she was still swimming after them. Had I been in the man's place, I should have felt that I had committed murder. As it was, I felt indignant enough to throw him into the Mississippi."

In this connection it may with much truth be stated, that the Bishop's diary is replete with instances of his visiting the sick and the afflicted, praying with them, and, as far as he could, preparing them for their last hour. Not only at the bedside of his own departing children, but in steamboats, at the wayside inn, as well as among his own pastoral charge, he might have been seen administering to the afflicted of every name. His services of this kind were frequently sought for outside of his own Communion and his more especial acquaintance. In addition to his ministrations in the chamber of the dying, he was oftentimes called upon to write

obituaries of the dead, to preach funeral-sermons, and, finally, to compose fitting epitaphs for their tombs.

"Feb. 16, 1854. Walked into town, this morning, and went to visit Mrs. M——n; found her much enfeebled, and rapidly growing weaker. I read to her the 'Exhortation to the Sick,' and examined her touching her faith, repentance, and charity; and then prayed with her. [He then adds] It affords me frequently the highest satisfaction, thus to engage in prayer with sick and afflicted persons. In such cases, I often have a depth of feeling in my own soul, experience a sense of the Divine presence, and have a liberty or freedom in prayer, that I realize very seldom under other circumstances. At such times, how precious seems the Saviour to the soul, how sufficient the grace of God to all our needs, how glorious the hope and the reward of the believer!"

April 23, 1842, the child of a dear friend (A. J. Polk) being at the point of death, he says, —

"I spent one or two hours in conversation with the afflicted parents, suggesting to their minds all the grounds of comfort and consolation which the Scriptures allow us to cherish in the death of children."

His letters of condolence to the family and friends of the dead are many in number; and abounding with a heartfelt sympathy, as well as with every conceivable ground of comfort to the bereaved. To some of his relatives, who had lost their mother, he writes: —

"My dear Cousins, — We received last week the sad intelligence of the decease of your beloved mother. I have delayed, a few days, the tender of my heartfelt sympathy; because I know that upon the first shock of such a calamity the mind is too much absorbed with its griefs, and with the recent sufferings of the departed, to give heed to the consoling voice of friendship. Time must be given us, that our agitated spirits may be composed, before

we can listen to the consolations which affection and the voice of religion offer to soothe our sorrows. May a gracious God comfort your hearts, for He alone can do it. It is He only, that can give 'beauty for ashes,' the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.' We can have but one mother, and there are endearing recollections connected with that name which attach to no other in our world; and few have been blessed with such a mother as yours. She was deserving of all your love, and her place in the community in which she lived will be hard to fill. I trust that you feel abundant motives for resignation in the recollection of her piety, her charity, and her faith in Christ. I doubt not she is blessed beyond all our conceptions of happiness. We have no just grounds to mourn for her; but, rather, for ourselves. You can scarcely wish her back, to share in the temptations and sorrows of earth; while every remembrance of her should strengthen the ties that bind your affections to heaven and heavenly things."

To a lady friend, Mrs. W——s of Chattanooga, he wrote Nov. 13, 1861: —

"My dear Friend and afflicted Sister, — I have just seen, in one of our papers, the announcement of the death of your dearly beloved husband; and now tender to you and his bereaved family the tribute of my sincere sympathy and my heartfelt condolence. If his many and attached friends mourn over this sudden affliction, what anguish must wring your heart in being bereft of the cherished affection and love of such a companion! May a gracious God comfort your heart. He alone can speak peace to your troubled spirit, and calm the tempest of your grief. I know well, from my own sad experience, that words of human sympathy cannot cure the sorrows of the heart. Grief is often too deep and sacred to endure the offerings of human friendship, and they avail but little to heal the wounds of the spirit. When time shall have done its soothing office by you, you will then call to mind the many virtues and excellences of your husband, and you will delight to cherish his memory. . . . You have the further and unspeakable comfort

of reflecting that he had made his peace with God, and looked for His mercy through the alone merits and intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The following is a part of a letter to an especially dear and worthy friend (Mrs. L.), whose husband had just been killed in a duel: —

"JAN. 8, 1862.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, — I received yours of the 5th inst., last evening. How gladly would I soothe your sorrows, if it were in my power! Words of sympathy and affection cannot reach the heart, and relieve its anguish, when torn and bleeding by such a wound as yours has received. All that we can say of the loved departed, — his nobleness of soul, his manliness, his uprightness, his integrity, his kindness in his domestic relations, — all tends only to endear him to your recollection, and make you feel the extent and severity of your loss. My part — it is all I can offer, and poor at that — is to weep with you, and pray for you. The Lord bless thee, and help thee! The Lord comfort your heart, and cause His face to shine upon you. God's ways are very often, to us, dark and mysterious. But we are assured that those ways are guided by unerring wisdom and unspeakable love. When we would inquire into the reasons of His dispensations, we are met with the declaration, 'He giveth not account of any of His matters.' Your husband's life was not the sport of chance. The might of an archangel could not strike his name from the list of the living, without the permission of that great and holy Being who gave him existence, and who knew best when to recall the life which He Himself had given."

If all such letters of sympathy and of godly counsel in affliction could be gathered together, they would form a volume of the largest size. They were not a mere compliance with conventional usage, but the offspring of a naturally warm and feeling heart.

Of the strength of his sympathy for the sufferings of his friends, the Bishop seemed, at times, to be painfully sensible. At the close of the protracted trial of Bishop Doane, he writes to one of his daughters: —

"You seem to wonder, my dear child, that I should have felt so much troubled about this matter. It was not in reference to myself, or the line of my duty, that I felt concerned. Indeed, I may say truly that all the troubles of my life have been for others. Like yourself, my nerves have been too delicately strung; and I have often suffered agonies inexpressible, when others have said, 'Oh, never mind!' I have often wished that I possessed less sensibility, and less sympathy for others; but that is wishing not to be myself."

"Nov. 20, 1855. Went to the prison, and had a conversation with Henry, a slave, condemned to die this day for murder. I found him, to all appearance, humble, docile, and penitent. I examined him touching his contrition for his past ungodly life, especially the crime for which he was in a few hours to die. He professed to be truly penitent, and, as far as I could judge, sincerely so. I then instructed him, that if he really believed with all his heart that Christ Jesus died for sinners, and if he would put his only and whole trust in God's mercy through Christ, he might yet find pardon and acceptance. This he appeared unfeignedly to do. I then, in the presence of the jailer and sheriff, and several others who had come in, examined him, and called upon them to witness his declarations of repentance and faith, his forgiveness of others, and his prayers for his own forgiveness. After commending him to God's great mercy in Christ, I baptized him, and left him to meet the terrible fate to which his guilt had brought him."

"March 13, 1862. Went to the hospital this morning. A sick young man, for whom I prayed last evening, died about an hour after I left. I walked over a considerable part of the town, in search of oranges for the sick soldiers, but could get none. Soon after, I visited several other of our soldiers, for whom I read and prayed. Among them were two Federal soldiers, captives,

for whom also I read and prayed. One of them seemed to be quite despondent."

"March 16. Spent several hours in the forenoon at the Overton-house Hospital, in visiting the sick and wounded, reading for them and praying with them."

"April 6, 1862. A large number of sick soldiers aboard, on their way to the hospital at Vicksburg; many of them evidently demoralized. One of them took his seat at a table in the gentlemen's cabin, with a youth, to play cards. I went to them, and talked to them on the impropriety of their conduct; asked what their parents would think if they knew they were thus engaged, etc. I told them, also, how such conduct might spread a gloom over their departing hours. All to no purpose: they continued their game."

The next day, aboard of the same boat, he writes: —

"This afternoon visited a man in his stateroom, by the name of Banks, and proposed to pray with him. He was too far gone to understand scarcely any thing that could be said to him. I therefore commended his soul to the mercy of God in Christ, and in an hour he died."

If ever there was a man honest in heart, and fearless in action, whether of a moral or physical character, that man was Bishop Otey. Although, as already shown, he possessed all the tenderness of the gentlest woman, he could, when the occasion called for it, stand firm as a rock, rebuke the offender, disturb the sleeping conscience, defy the insolent, or pass sentence on the guilty. In both disposition and conduct he strongly resembled that great Bishop whom he so delighted to honor, and from whom he had received the first and second Orders of the Ministry.

March 10, 1842. A Mr. Slater had passed himself off as a Clergyman of the Church, and had officiated

several times in his Diocese. The Bishop, after detecting his villainy, told him that he was an unworthy and unprincipled man; and that he would publish him to the world, and give information to all the Bishops of the Church. The man begged that he would not publish him, as it would ruin him forever. The answer was, "I must do my duty to the Church, let the consequences be as they may."

"Feb. 19, 1847. Write to Mr. I. K. Y., upon the subject of his religious profession, informing him that I had heard of his swearing; and give him a solemn and serious warning."

Of one of his Clergy, a good man otherwise, but always leaving a debt behind him, he says, —

"Mr. N. came to-day; and I opened my mind to him, very freely, on the impropriety of his running about drawing bills, etc."

The following little item shows his regard to law, and his determination not to be imposed upon: —

"Dec. 20, 1860. Arrived at home; hired a hack, and paid for the same twenty-five cents. The driver demanded double that sum; which I refused, as contrary to the City Ordinance."

Every Clergyman knows how painful is the duty of apprising the sick of their near-approaching end. This task was one from which the good Bishop never withheld himself. April 19, 1857, he writes: —

"Went to see a sick gentleman, and found him sleeping. On arousing from his slumber, I began to converse with him. He said that conversation and prayers excited him too much, and that he would send for me and see me at another time. I saw that the poor man was endeavoring to conceal from himself his true situation. I therefore warned him very seriously, and begged him not

to persuade himself, or let others flatter him, with the hope of recovery; for that he would go soon, and probably very suddenly. [The next day's entry is] The sick man I went to see yesterday died this morning. It was not without reason that I warned him."

"Sunday, Dec. 20, 1857. Saw some young men laughing in Church; for which I gave them a pointed rebuke, without calling their names."

Clergymen, in their journeyings, are not infrequently subjected to hearing profane or indecent language from young men of licentious habits. April 3, 1857, being on a Mississippi steamer, the Bishop writes: —

"A young man, with two companions, came into the social hall, and commenced using blasphemous and obscene language so shamelessly that I felt obliged to reprove him. I began by repeating, in a slow and solemn tone, the third Commandment. It at once made an impression. The wretched man strove and struggled to escape, like a wild bull in a net; but in vain. I set before him the deep and provoking sin of blasphemy, and his ingratitude to God; until, ashamed, he left my presence, and I saw him no more."

Again, Oct. 27, 1840, he writes: —

"I had hard words to-day with Gen. P——w, who refused to release me from an agreement about certain lands. I told him it was evident that he was deliberately intending to overreach and deceive me. He was very angry, and tried to intimidate me. I was much excited; but, finding that I was not to be scared by either looks or words, he gave me, after a while, the guaranty which I desired."

But the following, related to the author by one of his daughters, will serve to show that her good father was physically, as well as morally, without fear. It is given in her own words: —

"On one of his visitations, weary and fatigued and in want of

sleep, from a long ride on horseback, he arrived at a town that was filled to overflowing with some important political meeting. On asking for a room, or even a bed, the landlord replied that there was not even a space on his sitting-room floor for him to lie upon. But, seeing my father's disappointment, he said, 'There is a room up-stairs, belonging to a gambler, who seldom comes in until morning, and sometimes not until breakfast-time. If you choose to try that, you may.' My father concluded that he would make the venture. After sleeping very comfortably for some time, he was suddenly awakened by a voice calling out in an angry tone, 'Get up out of here, stranger! What are you doing here? Get out this moment, or I will pitch you out of the window.' My father attempted to expostulate with the rough, rude man that stood over him; but in vain. At last, being fully awakened to the situation, he looked his assailant steadily in the eye, and, at the same time stretching out his arm, said, 'Before you throw me out of the window, feel *that*.' That was the last of it."

He once hired a man by the name of Buchanan to act as an overseer of his little farm near Memphis. He proved to be a wife-beater, and in sundry other respects utterly unworthy. After being deservedly dismissed by the Bishop, he went to his house drunk, and in a very insulting mood. The Bishop paid him up in full, credited him for some extra supplies, took his receipt, and then told him to "be off." As the scamp seemed disposed to be dogged and stubborn, the Bishop took him by the arm, and unceremoniously shoved him out of the door.

Of the ministerial life of Bishop Otey, it may with truth be said that it was one of unremitting labor, and, in its earlier stages, of much pecuniary straitness. Some years after his arrival in Tennessee, when he had begun to see better times, he jocularly said to a friend, "When

I first came into the State, my sole possessions were my wife, my horse, my buggy, and my fiddle. The buggy and the horse have long since become of no use to me, but my wife and my fiddle are as good as ever." This cheerfulness of spirit was one of the happiest traits in his character, and sustained him under a pressure of bodily and mental toil which few have been so able to endure. The following extracts from his diary will give the reader some evidence of this: —

"Tuesday, 6th, 1842. Set out in the coach at 8 A.M. Rained hard all day, coach leaking badly. Nine passengers, one of them a large, helpless Indian. Came near upsetting. Reach Rock Row, 9 P.M., wet; find several great rowdies, blasphemous and profane wretches, at the hotel. Retire to bed; great fat Indian comes, and tumbles in beside me."

"July 11, 1855. Went to bed, but immediately attacked by bugs. Got up, and went out into the stage-coach, and staid till morning. Told Mr. W., the hotel-keeper, about the condition of his beds; seemed to take it in high dudgeon."

"March 31, 1844. Slept in T.'s house (an Indian) last night — the hardest floor I have ever felt."

He frequently follows up a hard day's labor, or a sleepless night, with a brief and uncomplaining remark: such as, "I have this day been speaking four hours;" "All day writing sermon, and preparing lecture; weary, weary world!" "Uncomfortable, sleepless night — mosquitoes!"

Fifty years ago, Tennessee and the adjoining States had no railroads or turnpikes, and but few coaches on the many routes which the Bishop had to travel. His earlier journeyings, therefore, had to be performed on horseback. We accordingly find many such entrances as these: —

"March 20, 1839. Arrived at Montgomery's, thirty-seven miles, barely in time to escape a heavy shower."

"March 21. Ride to Savannah, thirty-five miles."

"March 22. Ride in the rain, sick and weary, to Bolivar, thirty-two miles."

At another time: —

"Reached Montgomery's, thirty-nine miles. Lumpkin's, thirty-nine miles, snowing and sleeting all day. Mr. Alsenelly's, twenty-nine miles, drizzling rain all day."

His Diocese was too poor to provide for him as they desired: hence, both at Franklin and Columbia, he was compelled to devote a considerable portion of his time to teaching. On three days of the week, he lectured on Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Evidences of Christianity, in the Female Institute, from its first establishment to the beginning of the war. To his exertions in the pulpit, in his study, and in the schoolroom, he added no little amount of manual labor. He was his own carpenter and gardener and general house-jobber. At one time we see him repairing his fences; at another, digging up and setting out trees; next, putting up a bee-hive; and then, "making a frame-screen for wife." He was no stranger to what in classic phrase is known as *res angusta domi.* A story has been told the writer of this sketch, that, in the early stage of his Episcopacy, he was one day about mounting his horse for one of his long visitations, when his wife called to him, "Mr. Otey, there is not a peck of meal in the house." His only reply was, "Trust Providence;" and he rode off. And it gives the writer no little pleasure to add, that seldom has such pious trust been better rewarded; as the good

Bishop lived to see these providential supplies so increased, from day to day, that his family grew in comfort and abundance to the close of his life.

The slightest review of what is here written will suffice to show what were the many privations and trials which the good Bishop was called to endure. No one need wonder, that, near the close of his days, a sad record like this is to be found in his diary: —

"Disappointments, hardships, labors, ingratitude of men, bereavements, sorrows, afflictions, are the waymarks which are chiefly and most plainly visible on the path of my pilgrimage. But, then, God's mercies and blessings have also abounded."

In a similar strain he thus writes, in 1857, to Rev. Dr. Quintard: —

"My dear Brother, — Yours of the 11th was received last evening. My heart is almost broken, and what to say I know not. I am confounded; and, in the multitude of my thoughts, scarcely a ray of temporal comfort for the future reaches my soul. What a dark and mysterious providence to our Diocese! Alston studied in my house, grew up strong and vigorous, and I leaned upon him. The destroyer struck him, and he died in my arms. Tomes came into my family, was trained to the Ministry under my own direction, and became my son. He was active, practical, and reliable; and I once more had a prop on which I could lean. Death has again come, and blasted my hopes. As Dr. Pise said to me, the other day, '*Bishop, bad men come here to be disciplined: good men come here to die.*' Such has been the history of my poor afflicted Diocese. Oh that I could receive these things and accept them as tokens of God's fatherly care and favor! Alston is gone! Tomes is gone! — gone in the loveliness of their lives, in the fulness of their usefulness, and in the goodliness of their Ministry. All these things are against me."

Again, in another letter to Dr. Quintard, he writes: —

"I have visited, on an average, every congregation of my Diocese twice every year. I have travelled by all sorts of conveyances, in all weathers, — storm and tempest as well as sunshine; have preached, labored, and taught from house to house; have traversed mountains, and the lonely wilderness where no man dwelt; and have left no expedient untried to make full proof of my Ministry: I have, most painfully to myself, exercised discipline oftener than all the Bishops of the South-West, — all, that I might finish my course with joy, and testify to the Gospel of the grace of God. Forgive me this foolish boasting, as saith St. Paul. I have gone generally over the South-West. At one time, the limits of my spiritual jurisdiction, laid upon me by the Church, were Kentucky and Missouri on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south; and stretching between the eastern shores of Florida, and the Pacific."

Though often in bad health, he overcame bodily infirmity by great mental energy, and bore up under fatigue with a cheerful spirit, until he was literally worn out with labor.

It has already been noticed, that the Bishop in his youth was of a robust and hardy frame. But it was not long after his settlement in Tennessee, before confinement to his schoolroom, and his love of study, brought upon him that "old man of the sea," dyspepsia, which clung to him, in one or other of its many forms, to the end of his days. To this was added frequent and excruciating pain in the back, brought on, doubtless, by repeated exposure to all weathers, and long journeyings with too little intermediate rest. We are not surprised, therefore, to see in his diary such entries as these: —

"JAN. 3, 1854. Arose feeling very unwell through an act of civility to a friendly neighbor. It is surprising how few persons

understand what is real good-breeding. Last night I was *compelled*, as I may say, to eat; although I begged to be excused, with the express statement that oysters would make me sick."

Not long after, he writes again: —

"April 14. Weather rainy, cold, and windy. My dyspeptic symptoms have all returned in full force. This disease disqualifies me for the performance of almost every duty; insomuch that I have not the spirit left, even to engage in private religious duties, such as reading and prayers."

"April 18, 1862. Good Friday. A day of pain and suffering to me, from early dawn to dewy eve. But what are all sufferings, compared with those which my blessed Saviour endured for me this day? Then, let me submit without a murmur, and take patiently all that the Lord may appoint."

By some of the friends of Bishop Otey, his position and opinions with regard to our late war have not been rightly understood. By birth and early training, the Bishop was what is generally called an "old-line Whig," and a staunch supporter of law and Constitution. It was therefore with anxious and fearful forebodings that he saw in the intermeddling and oppressive proceedings of one portion of our people, and the equally bold and retaliating defiance of the other, the foreboding horrors of an internecine war.

In view of the coming storm, he wrote a number of letters of warning and deprecation to his brother Bishops both North and South. To Bishop Alonzo Potter he writes, May 28, 1860: —

"I send you by mail a letter which I have addressed to the Hon. William H. Seward. I can hardly expect, in the present feverish and excited state of the public mind in the North, that any attention will be given to it. Yet I am sure, that, if its state-

ments could be listened to, they ought to warn our countrymen of the terrific danger into which they are about to rush, 'as the horse rusheth into the battle.' For the life of me, I cannot see why the Southern States cannot be permitted to separate from the North in peace, when the North says it desires to be rid of an association which it regards as an incumbrance, a disgrace, and a sin. The idea of attacking the North is as foreign from our purposes and intentions as a pilgrimage to Mecca."

In a letter to Bishop Polk, Dec. 8, 1860, he writes: —

"Until within a few days past, my confidence was strong that there was left among the people at large an abiding love of country, and a respect for order and the supremacy of law, that would resist the madness and the arts of those who are moving all the baser passions of our nature to plunge this nation into a gulf of horrors and sufferings to which the past history of the world furnishes no parallel. It is God alone that can still the madness of the people. Our national sins and ingratitude, I fear, have so provoked His wrath, that now there is no remedy. To what quarter shall we look, when such men as you and Elliott deliberately favor secession? What can we expect, other than mob-law and violence among the masses, when the men of peace, the fathers of the land, the Ministers of the Gospel of peace, are found on the side of those who openly avow their determination to destroy the work which our fathers established at the expense of their blood, their fortunes, and some of them their lives?"

Again, in writing to a friend, June 20, 1861, he says, —

"With the noble, just, and patriotic sentiments of your letter, I most fully and cordially concur. The unnatural — and, may I not add, in many respects the *unnecessary* — contest now going on in our distracted country is without a parallel in the annals of the world. Where, in the history of man, has force of arms prevailed to subdue a people to the obedience of love? And what is the worth of any government without the affections of its subjects?

Oh, sir! I would gladly give all I possess, and, I believe, my life, willingly, if thereby the genial rays of peace, blessed peace, might once again enlighten and bless our land."

To Commander M. F. Maury, his former pupil, he writes, Sept. 3, 1860: —

"The apprehensions which you express about the stability of our times fill me with just alarm. I know that your position is favorable to the formation of reliable conclusions, and that you are not given to the indulgence of groundless fears. Surely there is enough of the conservative element left among us — enough of virtue, love of order, and enlightened patriotism, among the people — to form a wall of fire around the citadel of our liberties, if it could be prevailed on to step out, and boldly avow itself on the side of the Constitution and laws of the land. But here lies the difficulty: the men of the North, of information, and of sterling patriotism, have for years stood aloof from the disgusting conflicts of party organization, and permitted the demagogues and newspaper-editors to make public opinion, and through the instrumentality of irresponsible conventions, to mislead the masses, and control the elections. The practical working of our political machinery in the election of President and Vice-President is changed from what our forefathers contemplated; insomuch that our electors are mere ciphers, performing functions prescribed by the Constitution, which any schoolboy or mill-boy might execute as well."

An extract from a letter to another friend (Nov. 23, 1860) says, —

"Leave the question of union or disunion to the people to-morrow morning, and I verily believe that a majority in South Carolina and in all the Southern States will vote for the Union. They will be ready to fight, — so am I, — but under and for the Constitution. . . . The Peaks of Otter yet stand firm. Under their shadow I can yet find a resting-place."

From these extracts may plainly be seen the Christian-like and truly patriotic views of Bishop Otey, as he looked backward to the once contented and united condition of our people, and contrasted it with the dissension and bitter contentions daily growing up among them. Up to the 15th of April, 1861, when President Lincoln called for an army of seventy-five thousand men to invade the South, and deprive the States of their Constitutional rights, the constant desire and prayer of his heart was for peace and union. But when the blow was struck, and all hope for peace was gone, his same exalted views of the duties of the patriot and the citizen led him to bestow his sympathy and his prayers upon his native South and his more immediate friends and neighbors. The fire of his Revolutionary Fathers was kindled within him at the mere hearing of the intended subjugation of the South. In closing a long letter (May 24, 1861) to one of his daughters, he says, —

"And now, my dear child, you ask me if I think the cause of the South just, and that God will favor and defend us. I answer: *In very deed, I do.* Up to the period of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, inaugurating war by usurping powers belonging alone to Congress, I clung steadfastly to the hope of preserving the Union, though all around me were against me. But when that came; when the attack on Fort Sumter was made the pretext for declaring the South in a state of outlawry, outside of the protection which all civilized nations extend to their own subjects; when I read, in the public journals of the country, that religion itself was invoked to lend its sanction to denunciations of vengeance at which the blood runs cold, and against which men of the Old World remonstrated as barbarous and atrocious; when I heard, on undoubted authority, that the flag of the Federal Union was raised on the towers and spires of Christian temples, *above the*

Cross, and that the War-eagle, the 'abomination of desolation,' was standing (in the place where it ought not) in the sanctuary of God, — then, and not till then, did I say to myself, 'Whom God forsakes, and gives up to blindness and delusion, I will forsake also. I will no more stand up for a Union whose supporters desecrate all that is holy, and, in the madness and blindness of their rage, forget that they are men, and bear the name of Christians.' And now I look to God with confidence in his favor and protection."

To a Northern Clergyman (May 7, 1861) who was thinking of coming into his Diocese, he writes: —

"As to your coming South, let me just here state, for all, that you wholly misapprehend the spirit of our people. We ask not one thing of the North which has not been secured to us by the Constitution and laws since they were established and enacted, and which has been granted to us until within a few years past. We demand no sacrifices, nor the surrender of Northern rights and privileges. The party that elected Mr. Lincoln proclaimed uncompromising hostility to the institution of slavery, — an institution which existed here, and has done so from its beginning, in its patriarchal character. We feel ourselves under the most solemn obligations to take care of, and to provide for, these people who cannot provide for themselves. Nearly every Free-soil State has prohibited them from settling in their territory. Where are they to go? We implored our Northern brethren to let us alone. We ask now to be let alone. We ask nothing more. We have said, 'Take the navy, the army, the public property, only let us be to ourselves in peace; let us alone to do our life's business, as you do yours.'"

To another friend he writes, December, 1862: —

"What does a man do when he swears allegiance to the Constitution of the United States? Does his oath bind him to support that instrument as *he* understands its meaning, or as its meaning is defined and interpreted by the Supreme Court? If the latter, then I submit that he binds himself to oppose the measure of

President Lincoln, who, in the judgment of the entire South, the Chief Justice of the United States, and the world, has overleaped the boundaries of his Constitutional authority, and violated the plainest provisions of the Constitution itself. . . . I am for peace; my vocation obliges me to preach peace, and I do so in accordance with my natural disposition. I pray for peace daily."

From all this it plainly appears that Bishop Otey, while believing with many others of the cooler and wiser heads, both North and South, in the right of the States to a peaceable separation, deprecated the thought with all his heart, though painfully alive to the assaults which the fanatical zeal of the people of the North, and the oppressive acts of a partisan Administration, had made upon the South.

At the Diocesan Convention of April, 1861, by a unanimous vote of both Clergy and laity, the Bishop was requested to prepare a Pastoral Letter to his people, on the dangers of the times; and to recommend to them suitable devotions for public and private use.

Much has been said and thought on the propriety of Bishop Polk's acceptance of the military appointment tendered him by the President of the Confederacy. It was a distinction neither sought nor expected, and nothing but a strong sense of duty to a wronged and suffering people would have made him give heed to it for a moment. It was a subject, to him, of much and anxious prayer. Before coming to a final determination, he laid the matter before his old friend Bishop Meade of Virginia, resolved to abide by his advice. He found the mind of the good old Bishop as undecided as his own. He could give him no other counsel than, "Go, and do

what you think is right." That Bishop Otey approved it, the following extract from a letter of his to Bishop Meade, December, 1861, will show: —

"I am better satisfied than ever, that Bishop Polk is where he is, by God's will, and not his own."

In a letter to Bishop (now General) Polk, of nearly the same date, he writes: —

"My beloved Brother, — Upon returning home, day before yesterday, I received copies of letters addressed to you by Mr. Memminger and the President, on the subject of your resigning your command in the Confederate army. If a doubt lingered in your mind as to the propriety of your retaining the position into which you have been called by the providence of God, it seems to me that it should be removed by the statements and reasonings of those letters. Your letter of the 6th of November, tendering the resignation of your commission as Major-General, of which I have just made a copy, will triumphantly indicate the purity of your motives, and the high and noble considerations which have influenced your course; and will justify the retention of your command, in the view of all reflecting and right-minded men. If examples of men of like profession and similarly situated with you, who have been called to take up arms for the defence of the altars of God and their country, be called for, they can be readily furnished from the records of Holy Writ. The conduct of Phinehas (Num. xxv. 11) was so praiseworthy that the inspired David says it was 'counted to him for righteousness, through all posterities for evermore.' And did not Samuel, the minister of God from his very infancy, lead forth the hosts of Israel to battle, and with his own hand slay the king of Amalek?"

It may here be well to give a copy of Bishop Polk's letter of resignation, alluded to in the above extract: —

HEADQUARTERS OF 1ST DIVISION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
COLUMBUS, KY., NOV. 6, 1861.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JEFFERSON DAVIS,

President Confederate States of America.

Sir, — You will remember with what reluctance I consented to accept the commission of Major-General in the Provisional army. You will remember also that the considerations inducing my acceptance were the duty which I felt I owed to the country at whose hands I had received a military education, in connection with the difficulty of your finding a commander to whom you were willing to intrust the department you wished to assign to me.

These considerations, supported by the conviction that "resistance to tyrants is duty to God," warranted my turning aside from employments far more congenial to my feelings and tastes, to devote myself, for the time, to the military service of the country. I have been in that service now more than four months, and have devoted myself with untiring constancy to the duties of my office; with what efficiency and success, the country must judge. Within the last few weeks, you have been able to avail yourself of the services of a distinguished military commander, our mutual friend, who was not in the country at the date of my appointment, and upon whom you have devolved (partly at my instance) the duties of the office I consented to fill. It will, I believe, be agreed upon all hands, that a more judicious selection could not have been made, and that his military knowledge and experience will supply all that was needed. I have been willing to remain as second in command until the fortifications at Fort Pillow and this very important point were completed. This has now been substantially done, and I feel that as the necessity which induced me to take office no longer exists, and as the other General officers with whom I have been associated are men of ability and experience, I may be permitted to retire, and resume my former pursuits.

I beg leave, therefore, to tender to you the resignation of my commission as Major-General of the Provisional army of the Confederate States.

I remain, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

L. POLK, *Major-General Commanding.*

The year 1861 was one of varied and unusual trial to the Bishop of Tennessee. Previous years had seen him laboring under occasional attacks of disease, and mourning over the graves of three beloved children: now continued suffering marred his enjoyment by day, and "held his eyes waking by night." But, more than all, he was now about to drink of a cup bitterer still. The wife of his bosom, the mother of his children, the loved companion of forty years, was about to be taken from him. He thus begins the mournful story: —

"May 29. My wife very unwell; I decline going to Nashville."

"May 30. Wife no better."

"May 31. No improvement in my wife's condition."

"June 1. My wife is growing weaker. Her physicians pronounce her situation to be one of great danger, and give us but little hope."

"June 2. Our only hope is in God. This morning she partook of the Holy Communion with myself, my daughter Donna, and Rev. Dr. Hines. Have spent this whole day at her bedside, in the alternation of hope and despair."

"June 3. No relief. She will soon be gone; and I who have lived with her and for her, forty years, will be left alone, to tread the pilgrimage of a weary world, and have nothing to do but work out my salvation. After praying with her, and commending her soul to God, I inform her that her death is near at hand. She would rather live, for her children's sake; but meekly resigns herself to God's will."

"June 4. At 8 A.M. she was released from suffering, and all the pains of mortality, and received, we humbly trust, into the blissful Paradise of God."

June 7, we find this entry: —

"Feel inexpressibly sad. My thoughts revert, almost every

moment, to my dear wife. In my recollections of home or domestic affairs, she is intimately present."

Of the depth of his feelings on that occasion, we may form some conception from the following extract from a letter addressed to a valued friend, not long after the event: —

"Dear, dear Mrs. — Wood, Your kind letter of the 7th has just reached me. I thank you for the expression of your condolence and sympathy, most sincerely. I know it is the spontaneous offering of one that loves me. But my heart is almost broken. My hearthstone is cold and cheerless, and the light of my dwelling is put out. No language that I can command can adequately express the sense of desolation which has come over all my earthly prospects and plans. I strive to pray that no murmuring thought may find a place in my heart, and no word of complaint escape from the door of my lips. For I know that God in very faithfulness has afflicted me. I have now lost father, mother, brothers, sisters, children, and wife. With what form of domestic affliction and bereavement can I not now sympathize? With all sorrowing people I can weep. The condolence of friends is not without its solace. It is, alas! the only human comfort left us. . . . I need rest. I want to be alone, — at least, to be in some quiet and retired spot, where I may gather up the fragments of broken hopes, muse on the past, and strive, with St. Paul's spirit, to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for His body's sake, which is His Church."

In the month of November, Bishop Otey paid a visit to the Confederate troops, then at Union City, Ky., under the command of General Polk. In his diary he writes: —

"Nov. 19. Slept in the General's tent last night, and had much interesting and gratifying conversation with him, especially

about his position, and his earnest desire and efforts to be relieved from it. We had sweet communion in prayer, morning and night. He stands higher in my love and esteem than ever."

The last entry in this year is as follows: —

"Dec. 31. Thus am I brought by the merciful goodness of God to the close of another year. Truly may I say with David, 'Oh, what great troubles hast Thou showed me! yet hast Thou delivered me out of them all.' Would that I might ever be able to exercise the faith and hope of blessed Paul, saying, 'I know that the Lord will deliver me out of all evil, and bring me to His everlasting kingdom.' Thanks be to God for all His mercies!"

The diary of the Bishop for this year, though it tells of war and its fearful accompaniments, is more abundant than ever in prayer, and pious trust, and submission to the Divine will.

Jan. 3, being invited to take part in the consecration of Rev. Richard H. Wilmer, we find his answer in this brief but significant entry: —

"Wrote this day to the Rev. Dr. Massey, informing him of my inability to attend, for want of money."

Another reason might be here assigned, — a breach of etiquette, amounting to a want of respect, on the part of Bishop Meade, the then Presiding Bishop, in not assigning to Bishop Otey his proper position on that occasion.

"March 22. My excellent, long-tried, and faithful friend A. O. Harris died yesterday. He was one of the best men I have ever known. He was the most prominent layman in this Diocese for thirty years. He was liberal of his means, and ever prompt in the performance of good and charitable deeds. He was a man

of exemplary piety, and a well-informed and sound Churchman. He was a loving husband, and affectionate father, and the only member of the Church in Tennessee, who, to my knowledge, has remembered the poor in his will."

"March 31. Bishop Green called in this morning, and spent most of the day with me. We had much interesting conversation on various subjects; among others, about the matter of my consent given to the consecration of Rev. Dr. Stevens to be the Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania. Bishop Green, after hearing the reasons given by me for my course, expressed himself well satisfied; and said, that, viewed as a legal or canonical question, I was clearly in the right."

Early in the year, Bishop Otey had promised General Polk that he would visit a portion of his Diocese for him; but he soon after found himself without the health or strength to undertake it. He was then advised by his physicians to try the virtues of the Hot Springs in Arkansas, but his fast-failing strength forbade the attempt. He then determined to visit the famous Cooper's Well, near Jackson, Miss. After a trial of a few weeks, with but little benefit, he passed over to Jackson, and in that place and its neighborhood spent four months with old friends who were only too glad to see him once more, and to minister to him in his declining condition. After setting out on his return, he heard of the illness of his son Paul, in Mobile, hurried to his bedside, and did not leave him until he was fully recovered. Before reaching home he spent a week or two in the house of a gentleman, a near connection of the family; and makes this entry in his diary: —

"Sunday, 23d. This holy day has been spent, I fear, without profit to myself or others. I expected that the heads of the house would assemble their servants and household, and propose that I should have prayers, and address them on the high concernments of the soul. But no such movement was made. I am resolved, if here next Sunday, it shall not pass as this has done, if I can help it."

When the Bishop reached Memphis on the 4th of October, 1862, it was to find the place in possession of the Federal troops, under General Sherman, and a state of alarm and confusion pervading the citizens. His house rested firm on its foundation, but it had been stripped of one-half of its furniture and clothing by his faithless and ungrateful servants. Never had there been a kinder master, in sickness or in health, to either the bodies or souls of those who were in subjection to him. When, against all law and justice, his slaves were set free, he plainly foresaw the many temptations to which they would be exposed; and, assembling them in his parlor, warned them with a fatherly affection against the destructive views into which their new-born liberty would lead them. The following are the good Bishop's reflections on the subject: —

"I do not regret the departure of my servants, except Lavinia and Nora (children of eight and seven years of age): I pity them. I have endeavored to treat them always humanely. They had very little work to do; were always taken care of when sick, as other members of my family. They had as comfortable rooms, and as many necessary comforts, as myself. If they can do better by leaving me, they are free to do so. I told them this before I left home."

It is due to the cause of justice, if not generosity,

to state here, — and the writer takes pleasure in doing it, — that General Sherman's treatment of Bishop Otey was marked not only with respect, but with kind attention. He would not compel the Bishop to take the usual oath of allegiance, saying that his word was sufficient, and allowing him the full freedom of the city. He frequently attended the Bishop's services, and on his departure addressed to him a kind and complimentary letter. At one time, by way of retaliation for some atrocities committed by a few of our volunteer soldiers, known as "bushwhackers," an order was given for a number of the chief citizens of Memphis to leave the city immediately. The Bishop appeared before the General in their behalf, and succeeded in obtaining from him both a modification and a suspension of the order. At the same time, he addressed a letter to General Pemberton, then in command of the Confederate troops in Vicksburg, informing him of the serious retaliatory measures to which the best citizens of the place were exposed, on account of these lawless actions of the guerrillas; and earnestly requesting that he would disclaim and as far as possible restrain them.

But the end was drawing near. A laborious life of sixty-three years — two-thirds of it spent in the Ministry, and in circumstances of hardship and affliction — was now to give way to the rest and peace of the grave. As the soldier lays aside his battered arms when the fight is over, and as the weary traveller lies down to rest with the setting sun, so did this champion of Christ, this worn-out pilgrim of life's weary day, lay down the burthen which he had borne for forty years, to set his

house in order for the coming of his Lord. He had fought the good fight; his course had been nobly run. It remained for him only to bear witness, from the borders of the grave, to the sustaining power of the faith which he had preached in the vigor of his manhood. That proof he was prepared to give.

The month of April, which brings sunshine to the fields of the laborer, was a day of darkness to the friends of the Church in Tennessee. Unceasing toil, official and domestic care, together with repeated disappointments and bereavements, had done their work. The stalwart form, once the pride and admiration of his people, must now return to the feebleness of childhood, and give way to the power of disease. But with thankfulness be it recorded, that, with this decay of the outward man, there came no failure of intellect, no faltering of faith; but rather the "assurance of hope," and a foretaste of the glory which is to be revealed.

In addition to the interesting notices to be found in the letters of his two daughters, the following graphic account taken from the Address of Bishop Quintard to his first Convention in 1866, cannot fail to enlist the attention of the reader: —

"On the blessed Easter Day before his departure, he received for the last time, the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, at the hands of his faithful and beloved Presbyter, Dr. Richard Hines. He was evidently under the full conviction that he was about to partake, for the last time, of this dying pledge of a Saviour's love. He requested that the General Confession might be repeated slowly. He clasped the cup with an eager but trembling hand, and with all the solemnity of a dying veteran who desired once more to repeat the ground of the faith which he

had so loved and defended, with eyes uplifted to heaven, said, 'I call all of you to bear witness that my only hope for salvation is in the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ.' He afterwards remarked, 'I never, in all my life, felt such perfect readiness to depart.' A few days before his death, as he lay weary and feeble at the close of the day, friends who had called came to his bedside to say farewell. After their departure, he remarked, 'Oh that I had breath to talk to all who come in! for the things of eternity appear so differently to those in perfect health, from what they show themselves to one on a dying bed.' Again he said, 'Oh, to depart, and to be with Christ! Is it not far better than to lie here lingering on through a weary and painful decay of body?' Again, with clasped hands, he exclaimed, as though overwhelmed by the feeling, 'Oh the glory of Christ! How glorious are the perfections of God!' The next day his mind was recalled to the subject, and he replied, 'I do not remember; it is all gone now: but, while lying here upon this bed, I have had such ravishing views of Christ, and of the glory and perfection of God's character, as I have no language to describe.' In the midst of his wanderings, a passage of Scripture, or any portion of our Church Service, repeated to him, never failed to bring calmness to his mind, and intelligence to his eyes. And even at an hour when he was supposed to be dying, and the power of articulation seemed to be gone, as his faithful Presbyter was commending his soul to God in the beautiful language of our Prayer Book, there came, in the faintest whisper, just audible and no more, 'Our Father who art in heaven.' And so he departed; and we shall see him no more, till with the glorious company of Patriarchs and Apostles, the noble army of Martyrs and Confessors, we enter upon that rest which remaineth for the people of God."

Bishop Quintard then adds: —

"It was my mournful privilege to commit his body to the ground, in the beautiful churchyard of St. John's Church at Ashwood in Maury County, by the side of the beloved wife and children that had preceded him."

It is due to the memory of Bishop Otey to state here, in connection with this affecting notice of his death, that, though possessed of not much more of worldly goods at the end of his life than at the beginning, he left by will a sum of money to be invested by his executors, with directions to pay the interest annually to such one of the Clergy as, under the appointment of the Bishop of the Diocese, should deliver, in the presence of the Convention, a sermon on the "Divine Constitution of the Christian Ministry."

That this tranquil and composed spirit of the Bishop, this readiness to depart in view of the grave, was no evanescent impulse, or a mere effect of excitement, but the legitimate effect of an enduring faith, may be convincingly established by the following testimony of the Rev. Dr. Hines, who tended him with filial affection through the whole of his last sickness. In a letter addressed to one of the Bishop's daughters, soon after his death, Dr. Hines says, —

"During an attack of illness some eighteen months previous to your dear father's death, he remarked to me as follows: 'With regard to the probability of my death, and in a review of my life, I look upon it as I did when gazing for the last time upon some of the charming scenes in Europe, — some of those magnificent views among the Alps. I gazed upon them with feelings of regret, when I thought I should never behold them again. Yet, when my thoughts turned to the beloved ones at home, across the sea, all regret was lost in the joyful anticipation of meeting *them* once more. So, in looking back over the scenes of my past life, the reflection that I must leave them, with all the dear friends that remain on earth, gives me a feeling of sadness. But when I remember how many *more* "beloved ones" are awaiting me *on the other side*, all sadness is lost in the glorious hope of a meeting beyond the skies.'"

The Bishop's will directed that the little which he would leave behind him should be divided among his children. He positively forbade the publication of his manuscript sermons; requested that no other service or ceremony should be used at his interment than the Burial Service of the Prayer Book; and that the marble which might cover his remains should bear no other inscription than his name, his birth and death, and these words: "*The first Bishop of the Catholic Church in Tennessee.*"

It may be well here to make a brief note of the family, or children, of the Bishop. Nine were born to him. Of these, three, as has been told, preceded him to the grave. Paul, one of his elder-born, survived him: he was a physician of some eminence, and died at Memphis in 1873, nobly maintaining his post amid the decimating pestilence of that fatal year. There now remain Mrs. Virginia Minor; Mrs. Henrietta C. Tomes; Mrs. Mary F. Govan; Mrs. Eliza (or Donna) Compton; and Mercer, the last-born of them all, who was a young and ardent soldier in our late war.

No sooner was the death of the Bishop known, than numerous tributes of regret were paid to his memory, in the form of discourses and resolutions and eulogistic notices of the press; which, if gathered together, would form a volume of themselves. The two following are given because of their coming from those two quarters where he was best known, and which had shared most largely in his labors.

In the Diocesan Convention of Tennessee, the first that was held after the decease of the Bishop, a com-

mittee was appointed to notice in becoming manner the great loss which the Diocese had sustained. Of this committee, the Rev. Dr. Quintard was chairman, who reported as follows: —

"Providence, which on the 23d of April, 1863, deprived this Diocese of a great and good Bishop, who devoted his whole life to the service of God and the benefit of his fellow-man, comes before our minds and touches our hearts with peculiar force on this the first meeting of the Convention since his decease.

"Endowed with a large capacity of mind, and with a warm, generous, and benevolent heart; gifted with a fervid imagination and an impressive eloquence; learned and studious, — he was indefatigably industrious in preaching the Word of God to his people.

"Though often feeble in health, he overcame his bodily infirmities by great mental energy: so that he not only discharged the laborious duties of his own Diocese, but also performed Episcopal service in the Dioceses of Mississippi and Arkansas and Louisiana and Florida.

"His sensibility to the beautiful was extraordinary; and he was distinguished in society by instructive and pleasing powers of conversation.

"He loved the Church, and gave himself to it with deliberate, enduring, and ever-increasing devotion. He constantly enforced from the pulpit the indispensable importance of a moral and religious education for the promotion of the happiness of a nation; and constantly urged, in his public and private discourses, that the Gospel of Christ, when truly received, rendered society attractive by its cultivating social influences, inculcating the duty of submission to lawful authority, inspiring the noblest motives, and shedding a sweet charm over every scene of domestic life.

"His piety was exemplary; and in all the various relationships of life, as a father, husband, friend, and public instructor, he was distinguished for his noble performance of every duty, with enlightenment, feeling, and affection."

About the same time, the following preamble and resolution were adopted by a rising vote of the Diocesan Council of Mississippi: —

"It having pleased the great Head of the Church to remove from their respective spheres of labor the Right Reverend Fathers in God, James Hervey Otey, D.D., and Leonidas Polk, D.D., — the late Bishops of Mississippi and Louisiana, — this Council, with humble submission to the Divine will, desires to testify its gratitude for the eminent services they rendered to this Diocese. Each of them for a season exercised Episcopal jurisdiction over it, and both were instruments in the hand of God in laying successfully the foundations of His Church in this State. They now rest from their labors, and their works do follow them in the permanent blessings they have left to the children of Christ.

"The late Bishop of Tennessee was for eight years the Provisional Bishop of this Diocese; and as a devoted Bishop of souls, who gathered many of us into the fold, has peculiar claims to our grateful remembrance.

"As the senior Bishop of the Church in the Confederate States, and the first Chancellor of the University of the South; and as a self-denying and laborious apostle of Christ, whose life was spent in His Gospel, and teaching men to obey it by a holy example, — he will long live in the affectionate remembrance of our people.

"The late Bishop of Louisiana was a great and good man, who, in all the relations of life, filled his station without reproach. As a refined Christian gentleman, a humane master, a useful citizen, an energetic and holy Bishop, and the founder of the University of the South, he displayed to the world the character of one who loved his country, his Church, and his God, being guided in all his conduct by a sense of duty alone.

"Resolved, therefore, that this Council desires to record this expression of its love and gratitude for these great benefactors of our Church and native land, and to express our heartfelt sympathy with the sorrows of their bereaved families and Dioceses."

At that same Council, Bishop Green in his Annual Address thus notices the subject: —

"Since we were last permitted to meet in Council, it has pleased God to take to himself two of our ablest and best-beloved Fathers in Christ, — Bishop Otey and Bishop Polk; the one taken from his own peaceful pillow at home, the other snatched violently away while in defence of his country.

"Seldom has the Church to mourn, at one time, the taking-off of two such faithful and efficient laborers.

"As long as honesty and guilelessness, and independence of spirit, and patient endurance of privation and of unrewarded labor, shall be valued among men, the name of Otey will be repeated by father to son from generation to generation.

"And the memory of Polk will flourish in its greenness, until all that ennobles the man, the Christian, the Bishop, and the patriot shall cease to be cherished in the hearts of men."

It may be well to add here the following extract from a sermon delivered by the venerable and Rev. Dr. White, who for several years was associated with Bishop Otey in charge of Calvary Church, Memphis: —

"The history of the Church in Tennessee and the South-West cannot be written without special reference to this eminent servant of God. He was to every one the friend in sorrow, the comforter in affliction, the counsellor in difficulty. It may be safely said that no Diocesan ever had a harder field, and none in charge of more important interests. Although pressed by the duties of the Episcopate, he never lost sight of the subject of education. His unflagging zeal in the establishment and superintendence of the Female Institute in Columbia, his efforts to organize a Theological Seminary, and his successful exertions to establish the University of the South, attest how much he felt for the moral and intellectual culture of our youth. He was justly appointed the first Chancellor of that University; and when, by the devastations of war, its site was laid waste, he was one of the prime movers in giving a restored life to the enterprise. His unsparing devotion and untiring

efforts in behalf of that institution are well known, for which the Church owes him a debt of gratitude which only generations to come will be able to calculate."

It has already been stated what the Bishop was in personal appearance. Before he began to bend under the combined pressure of unwonted labor and broken health, he stood a Saul among his brethren, being full six feet and four inches in height, and well proportioned throughout. If his temper had been of the savage order, he would have been an object of dread to all with whom he might come in conflict. But such was the gentleness of his disposition, and his power of self-control, that his physical greatness helped rather to magnify the admiration with which his acquaintance always regarded him. Such a frame and such a constitution would, under ordinary treatment, have sustained its possessor through an entire century. If ever a man could be said to labor in the service of God "above measure," — viz., above what an indulgent Being "who knoweth our frame" expects or demands of us, — that man was the first Bishop of Tennessee. In the view of the world, he was simply the Bishop, or overseer, of the field set before him, directing and encouraging the laborers. To all within his Diocese, he was more, — he was the Pastor, or Good Shepherd, daily going in and out among his flock, leading them by his example to the green fields and sunny pastures of God's service. To his family and immediate acquaintances, he was more than Bishop, more than Pastor; he was father, brother, son, nurse, and comforter to the sick, the poor, the afflicted of every name.

The following is taken from a letter of a lady (Mrs. William Hardman) who was an intimate friend of the Bishop for fifty years. It was written to his youngest child some time after the Bishop's death.

"I knew your father well. He was a man of true nobility of soul, with a heart so pure that no stain could rest upon it. He was fearless and honest and conscientious. His character was like the unblemished pages of a beautiful volume, filled with generous deeds and noble sacrifices. The work he undertook and performed with an indomitable will was too much for any one man, and I cannot wonder that his once strong and vigorous constitution gave way under it. . . . He was with our family in many trying scenes and afflictions, pouring the oil of comfort into our sorrowing souls, bringing us nearer to God, and teaching our hearts how to submit themselves to His wise and blessed will."

The following extracts from his diary will give the reader some idea of the faithful and untiring labor which he performed until he could labor no longer. They may serve also to exhibit his tender-hearted feelings as a parent, the manifold duties devolved upon him by his high position, and the humble and devout spirit in which he received the many chastenings with which it pleased God, from time to time, to purify him. He began to keep a diary in 1833, and continued it to the end of 1862. It is much to be regretted, that, through the destructive effects of war and its consequences, much of it has been lost. The diary of each year was kept in a little book to itself. The perusal of any one of these little annuals will abundantly show the punctual and business-like habits of the Bishop. Every letter received, and every letter written, is noted at the mo-

ment; and many a little family expense may be found on the same page with some grave official record.

He was scrupulously particular in thus recording the various Baptisms and Confirmations which he performed in his widely extended field of labor, and especially in all places where there was no settled Minister; and he thus gives his reasons for it: —

"To ascertain the certainty of one's Baptism, sometimes becomes a question of much moment to the peace and comfort of a Christian. And it is thought that the record here made may possibly, at some future day, give satisfaction in such cases as are likely to happen in the absence of Parish Registers, or from inattention to make proper entries in them."

Punctuality was one of those secondary virtues which the Bishop liked to practise, as well as to commend to others. We find the following: —

"March 31, 1860. In consequence of being interested in conversation, last evening, with J. B. J., an old acquaintance, I suffered the hour of 5 P.M. to pass without notice; and the cars left me. This is the first occurrence of the kind that has happened to me, in all my life, — a proof that I am getting old, drawing nearer to the 'Dream-land.'"

On another occasion his love of punctuality received a very rude and unexpected check. At one of his Conventions, he had given notice that the service would commence at ten o'clock *precisely*. An old Englishman was at the organ, and, as a very large congregation was expected, had prepared one of his longest and most artistic voluntaries to be played while the congregation

was assembling. He was playing when the Bishop entered, but purposely ignored it. On rising from his knees after his silent prayer, the Bishop motioned to the organ-gallery to stop the music. The old gentleman was apprised of the Bishop's order; but his voluntary was not more than half finished, and only a small portion of the congregation was in the house. The Bishop, finding his admonition pointedly disregarded, drew himself up to his full height (with a vim suggestive of old-Adam origin), and in stentorian, *fortissimo* tones, that rose above the organ, commanded, "Silence! stop! Stop it at once, I say!" The organist wheeled around upon his stool, and, pointing his long finger at the Bishop, with his shrill, piping voice exclaimed, "Bishop, when you are preaching one of your long sermons, I never tell you, 'Stop!'" and, turning round again, went on doggedly to the end of his performance.

This provoking and yet amusing incident was related to the writer by Rev. Dr. Wheat, who witnessed it; and who further adds, that the effect upon the Bishop was remarkable. The sternness of the moment soon gave way to a pathetic tenderness and an impressive solemnity, which added unusual unction and power to his subsequent discourse.

A somewhat similar event once tried severely the nerves of the Bishop, but served to show his determination to do his duty in all circumstances. He was called to unite a couple in matrimony at Brandon, Miss. The intended groom requested that the word "obey" might be omitted from the plighted troth of the intended bride. The Bishop replied promptly, that he had no

authority to dispense with a single word of the Office prescribed by the Church; and that, in his opinion, the wife's obeying her husband was essential to the happiness of married life, and that he would certainly require the promise to be made. The recalcitrant lady, though bent on carrying her point, consented to take her place before the Bishop. To the preliminary question, in which was the word "*obey*," and "*serve*," also, she inadvertently answered, "I will." But when she had to repeat after the Bishop, he paused before "obey," and pronounced it with marked distinctness. She was silent. The Bishop repeated it. She was still silent. For the third time, he said, "*and obey*." He then paused a moment, and amid a death-like silence was turning away, when the conquered lady said hurriedly, "obey, *if I can*." The proviso was accepted, and the ceremony ended, to the relief of all concerned. The poor apology was made for her, that she had always been a spoiled and petted child. She was the daughter of Rev. Dr. Th——n, a worthy Methodist preacher; and her husband a preacher of the same denomination.

As a similar story has been credited to the experience of several other Bishops, the writer of this Memoir begs leave to state that he was personally acquainted with all the parties, and that he obtained his knowledge of the transaction from a lady who accompanied the Bishop to the wedding.

The interesting letters of the Bishop's daughters will fully suffice to show what he was within the sacred precincts of his household. He was, at one and the same time, the wise, the tender, the playful, and the instruc-

tive parent, making home a perpetual sunlight — darkened only by his long and frequent absences.

The following extracts from a letter to his wife, when he was on the eve of sailing for Europe, will show the extent of his thoughtfulness and loving kindness at a moment when his own heart was weighed down with sickness and the dreaded perils of the sea: —

"I have made such preparations for my voyage as seem expedient. I send home my old trunk. Within, you will find a silk dress for yourself, a dress for Mary, a Sandford and Merton, and a box of tools for Mercer, a calico dress for Peggy and Kitty and Becky, a jacket for George and Edmund and Jack, and a pair of pants for Tom. These things for the servants are at your disposal, to be given or withheld according as they show themselves deserving by their worthy conduct. . . . I wish you, my dear wife, to keep Mercer with yourself, and teach him yourself, as much as you can. Let him read the Bible to you, and learn the multiplication-table."

Another proof of his great carefulness, and devotion to the welfare and safety of his home, may be seen in this simple record jotted down on the eve of one of his long absences: —

"Jan. 11, 1847. Left home this morning, for the visitation of Mississippi. I first burned out all my chimneys; and commended my dear wife and children to God, invoking His gracious and merciful protection."

We have seen what the Bishop was in his family. Next to his children came his Clergy, to whom he was always the loving Father no less than the wise and able Bishop. A thorough knowledge of the affecting relations in which they stood to each other may clearly be seen by the letters to the writer from the Rev. Drs.

Gray, Humes, and Harris, to be found in the Appendix. It would be impossible to express in more glowing terms the feeling of filial and reverential affection that inspired those voluntary tributes to the Bishop's memory. When gathered in Convocation or Convention, Bishop, Priest, Deacon, — ay, and laity too, — formed one loving family group; and seldom did his Clergy hear the voice of rebuke from their indulgent Pastor. But when a sense of duty called for the rod of discipline, it came with telling force upon the offender; as may be seen from the following letter: —

JULY 4, 1837.

REV. AND DEAR SIR, — I have indirectly heard, with much regret and mortification, that you have lately given up your appointments to a Presbyterian Clergyman, on two occasions when it was your duty to hold services as an Episcopal Minister for your own people. In your village there is an organized congregation, which it may be presumed would gladly assemble for worship. For you, then, to permit a Presbyterian, or any other than an Episcopal Minister, to officiate in your place (*at a Mission Station*), virtually to fill your appointment, is a plain, direct, and palpable violation of Canon XXXVI. of General Convention. . . . If you teach the people one thing, and I another; if I find myself bound by Canon, and you only so far as expediency shall dictate, — it is very evident that we cannot walk together. . . . I write to you with feelings of frankness and candor, such as I hope will always characterize our intercourse; and with no other than the kind sentiments which I have always cherished for you. Sincerely desiring that you may be able to exonerate yourself from all blame in the premises, I am very respectfully,

Your faithful Friend and Pastor,

J. H. OTEY.

Bishop Otey's experience with regard to his Clergy was not unlike that of his other Episcopal brethren.

Many pages of his diary record the poverty of his Diocese, the unreasonable expectations of the smaller congregations, and the repeated and — as he often thought — the needless removals of his Clergy from their respective charges. He says, —

"I find that many of our Ministers seem to be apprehensive of being overlooked because they occupy obscure fields of labor. They are ambitious of getting to themselves a name in the world. One wants a more enlarged sphere for exerting his talents; another desires competition, in order to excite him to effort, and to arouse his powers. They all forget that an humble position carries with it less responsibility, and generally greater opportunities for real usefulness. And, especially, they appear not to consider the example of our Saviour, who neither 'cried aloud,' nor 'lifted up his voice in the streets,' but 'went about doing good.'"

In another place he writes: —

"I have received so many applications from Clergymen, on the subject of salary, that I am really tired of replying to them. The cry is always one and the same, 'What support can be obtained?' I am becoming weary and disgusted with all this. If any man is really in good earnest, and heartily desirous of honoring God and Christ, and anxious for the salvation of souls, he will ask a different set of questions altogether. He will say, 'Jehovah Jireh, — Thou, Lord, hast never failed them that put their trust in Thee.'"

Again, with regard to a Clergyman who was dissatisfied with his position, he says, —

"I have perceived for some time that Dr. C——y is dissatisfied; and he now, as I hear, alleges a reason for it, which has always struck me as strange when coming from a Minister of the Gospel; viz., that he has not competition enough to excite him to effort. I think the Devil is a sufficiently formidable opponent for any one."

In palliation of this weakness on the part of the Bishop's Clergy, it must be remembered that his Diocese was poor, and in its earlier stages very poor. At one time he writes to a Clergyman wishing to come into the Diocese: —

"The Parish which you desire to obtain, through poverty has failed for two years to pay the assessments laid upon it by the Convention; and its last Rector, who is just leaving it, departs for want of salary. It is the largest Parish in the Diocese."

Of another Clergyman (Rev. Mr. Applegate), he makes this short but expressive note: "Gone back to Scotland, for want of bread."

Nor was the good Bishop himself a stranger to these straitened circumstances. We have already seen that he was prevented from attending the Consecration of a brother Bishop in a neighboring Diocese, for want of means. A similar entry in his diary is: —

"Four hundred and fifty dollars is all that I have received for a whole year, and I am told that there is only fifteen dollars in the treasury."

Such were some of the many trials of this dear good man's life. It is no wonder, then, that we should hear him on a similar occasion say, —

"Truly the office of a Bishop is no sinecure in this country. How little do those know of the privations and discomforts we endure, who have no personal experience of them!"

If the question were asked, as to the character of Bishop Otey's Churchmanship, it would be difficult to answer it in a single phrase or term. His early acquaintance with Bishop Ravenscroft, and his admiration

of that great man's character, had imbued him with a belief in the Church as the Representative Body of Christ: One in its Divine organization, Holy in character, Catholic in extent, and Apostolic in its Ministry. He was fully convinced of the unbroken succession in our Episcopate; he looked upon schism as a sin, and both inculcated and practised a rigid conformity to Rubrical and Canonical Order. Nothing more than this would seem necessary to place him in the category of what is known as "High Churchmen." On the other hand, his yet earlier youthful associations had inclined him to look with equal approval upon the Church and the surrounding denominations, and to concede to all claimants alike the right to minister in holy things. Between these two extremes of Church thought, his true position might have been found. He was consequently the object of attack by the zealots of both parties, but more especially of the latter. His unceremonious ejection of the crosses and candlesticks at Riverside ought certainly to exonerate him from the suspicion of being a High-Church Ritualist; and his equally ungracious treatment of certain publications of the "Evangelical Knowledge Society" should as surely acquit him of favoring the levelling and disintegrating views of that association.

It was a marked characteristic of Bishop Otey's mind, that he could look away from party influence in judging of all matters affecting in any way the nature or welfare of the Church. In an early stage of the Confederate war, it was contended by many, that the separation of the South politically from the General Government necessarily involved a like separation in matters of reli-

gion from the Church of which the South had been a part. We find his views on this then exciting subject, in the following, taken from his diary: —

"April 9, 1862. Had a long conversation with Mr. Smedes, concerning the effect of secession on the organization of the Church. He thinks that our ecclesiastical organization is, of necessity, controlled by our nationality; that, a portion of the States having separated from the Union, the Church in those States becomes necessarily separated from the Church in the same, and is forced to make a new organization. I dissented totally from this view; believing the Church to be, in its spiritual organization, far above all civil enactments and arrangements."

Again, Oct. 9, 1861, in a letter to Rev. George C. Harris, one of his Clergy, he says, —

"I cannot see, for myself, any urgent necessity for adopting measures to bring about a speedy division or separation of the Church into Northern and Southern sections. It is a work which, however important for future convenience, requires wise and prudent counsels to effect it. The opinions and consent of our Northern brethren should be consulted in any such step: and every thing avoided, as far as possible, likely to give offence to any portion of the Church Catholic. Already the journals of dissenting bodies are beginning to exult at the prospect of a disruption of our Church, and its division into schismatical fragments. Every thing looking to such a result, I am very anxious to prevent. If we must divide, let the separation be consummated by keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

The following, taken from a letter to his eldest daughter, is so marked with his good sense and sound Churchmanship combined, as to entitle it to the attention of the reader, and make it a guide to those who may find themselves in a situation similar to that of the good lady and her family.

"My dear Daughter, — I wish that I could give you advice that would relieve your mind from the perplexities you feel in your destitution of Church privileges, and which might guide you to right conclusions in reference to the religious training of your children. But I greatly fear that I can do neither. The very circumstances by which you are surrounded lead naturally, not to say necessarily, to a liberalism in religious matters, in the public mind, most unfriendly to the adoption and inculcation of Divine truth. All that can be said in such a case is: Do the best you can, keeping at all times a good conscience. This liberalism is, by a strange misnomer, called charity by those who forget that 'charity rejoiceth in the truth;' while the opposite is stigmatized as bigotry. I never have known a man zealous for the truth of God, whom the world did not call a bigot. . . . It appears to me that the course of your family, under present circumstances, is a perfectly plain and obvious one. Without presuming to prescribe, I will briefly sketch an outline. If I were in Mr. M.'s place, I would read the Morning Service of the Church, and a sermon, every Sunday forenoon, or direct Hervey [Mr. M.'s oldest son] to do so. It would be dignified and unexceptionable, and insure respect, as the manifestation of adherence to principle by a man in a high position and who disregarded public prejudice. It would be invaluable to your children. As to attending meetings of others, it would be, with me, a matter entirely subsidiary to that of the learning something of their principles and practices. As to your children attending Presbyterian or other Sunday schools, I think that your instructing them every Lord's Day, in the Catechism of the Church, is quite sufficient without any such adjuvants. Such are my views in brief: I have not either time or space to expand them."

The friends and admirers of the Bishop are unwilling to consign his name and memory to the exclusive keeping of any one party in the Church. If the question should be asked by any who shall come after, be this the answer: He believed the Church to be the one,

undivided Bride of Christ, with no element of division or sectarianism in her; that in her Creeds she holds in its integrity the Faith once delivered to the saints; that she has a Divine Order, connecting her, clear back, with the Apostles and Christ; that she is the appointed teacher and preserver of all true religion and virtue; and, finally, that to our portion of the Church the country in which we live will one day look for help amid her social and political trials.

On the other hand, no one, however loudly he may claim the name of "Evangelical," ever preached a purer Gospel, or held up Christ more plainly before the hearts of his people; no one was ever less exclusive in his friendships; and no one ever more ready or more thankful to perceive and acknowledge the many and evident fruits of the Spirit among the Ministers and members of the various denominations. He believed the Church to possess Divine power fully, but not exclusively; and that every thing good and beautiful and true comes, more or less, of God. Eldad and Medad had not the Divine appointment of Moses, but the Lord had "put his Spirit upon them."

In writing to one of his favorite Clergy, August, 1856, and speaking of the two parties, High and Low, that then unhappily divided the Church, he says, —

"I belong to neither of them. By the one I have never been forgiven for my concern or part in the presentation of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk: by the other I am held in a sort of holy horror for opposing the E. K. Society. Be it so. I can not and will not adopt the Shibboleth of any party, or come into bondage to any man or any body of men, so long as I feel and know, and rejoice in the feeling and knowledge, that I am *Christ's Freedman.*"

This truly Christian spirit, which prompted him to look with many grains of allowance upon the various and widely differing sects of the Christian world, made him sensitively alive to the feelings of others, and gave him an unusual enjoyment in the tender and the beautiful, whether in nature or in the region of morals. On no occasion in his whole life was this sympathetic spirit more fully evinced than in the unhappy fall and condemnation of the Rev. F. G. S. Though shamefully vilified by the abettors of the offender, for the sentence pronounced upon him, and deserted for a time by a number of his friends, he seemed chiefly concerned for the sufferings of the guilty man and his family; saying, —

"For our offending brother I feel no other sentiment than that of heartfelt pity and undissembled compassion. I would here, brethren, bespeak for him not only your sympathy, but your prayers, that he may recover from the pit into which he has fallen, — that he may be forgiven both of God and man, and regain the position of confidence which he once occupied."

Another instance of this abounding tenderness for the feelings of others might have been seen in the case of one of his Clergy, who certainly deserved it as little as could well be conceived. The Rev. Mr. Muller was brought to trial before him, for general untruthfulness and specific instances of lying. The Rev. Drs. Leacock and Wheat acted as coadjutors to the Bishop. The accused was found guilty of lying in one instance only. To the astonishment of the Court, the sentence of degradation from the Ministry was pronounced upon him by the Bishop. The reverend coadjutors were

shocked and aggrieved, and seriously but respectfully remonstrated against what they deemed the unmerited severity of the sentence. Their feelings, however, were soon changed, when informed by the Bishop that the condemned man acknowledged it as just, inasmuch as he had committed a far more heinous offence, and had privately confessed it to the Bishop, expecting to be degraded. Here may be plainly seen a beautiful exhibition of refined feeling, in conjunction with a strict regard to the demands of justice. The culprit receives his merited doom, but is spared the additional ignominy of a public exposure of his thorough criminality; the scandal of so disgraceful an exhibition as a public trial is warded off from the Church, and the moral sense of the community shielded from the infliction of any such unnecessary outrage. With considerations such as these, the good Bishop secretly comforted himself whilst an uninformed public was charging him with playing the tyrant.

To a tender regard for the feelings of others, may be added an appreciative sense of the beauties of nature. While at the Red Sulphur Springs, in 1852, he engaged one day in his favorite amusement of fishing. He was not successful; but he says, —

"I did not regret it; for it enabled me to be alone, and to enjoy the sweet breath of these mountains, by the side of a brook whose occasional falls send forth those gentle murmurs that recall the pleasant scenes of my childhood. How often, when a boy, have I listened to those simple sounds of Nature, — the murmur of running water, the whisper of the breeze, the hum of insects, the lowing of cattle, the songs of birds, — and, as it were, talked responsively, and held pleasant converse with them! All gone!"

Of fishing as an amusement, the Bishop might have been said to be passionately fond. He could, at any time of the leisure he allowed himself, sit a whole day on the river's bank, under an August sun, if the fish were at all disposed to bite. At one time he says, —

"This is the only amusement for which I feel any fondness. It revives very vividly the recollections of my childhood. I can remember with the distinctness and freshness, almost, of an impression of yesterday, many little incidents of piscatory skill and success, which, at the time of their occurrence, invested the actors with the importance which I have since learned to attribute to the mighty deeds of the great rulers of the world, or the warriors whose exploits have filled the earth with their fame."

At another time he thus writes in his diary: —

"I can undergo an amount of fatigue in this occupation, which in other pursuits would quite break me down. I find also, that, independent of the excitement produced by the constant expectation of taking the prey, the very business itself is favorable to meditation, and revives the recollection of the years in which existence itself was felt to be good and joyous. The memory, the sweet but mournful memory of the dead, comes up at those times. I seem almost to hear their voices whispering to me. I look for their loved images; but they are to be found only impressed on the mind's eye, and the tablets of the heart. Oh that I may, through Divine grace, be enabled so to live, that, when this painful life is ended, I may rejoin the spirits of those so loved ones in a state holy and unchangeable!"

We have seen what a pleasant companion his violin was to him in his college days, and how carefully he brought it with him across the mountains. That companionship was kept up from time to time, in after-years, until disease had made the "grasshopper to be a

burden," and the "evil days" to come, and the years to draw nigh in which he would take no pleasure in its tones. The Bishop never played except for the amusement of his younger children, or when in his own room with a chosen friend at his side; or when solitary and alone, before retiring at night, he sought by its aid to smooth down the ruffled remembrances of the day.

An amusing story is told of him in this connection. Being at the house of an old and familiar friend, and having his violin with him, he thought that he would hold brief communion with it before going to bed. He had scarcely begun to play, when the door was partly opened, and the head of a faithful old servant looked in, saying, "*Massa, better put up dat fiddle: dere's a Preacher in de house!*"

The uniform disposition of Bishop Otey was of a genial and cheerful character. He was at all times straightforward, unaffected, and apparently unconscious of the favorable opinion of himself that he was exciting in others. He neither said nor did any thing for the mere effect of the moment. When he rose to speak in the House of Bishops, it was generally after several on both sides had delivered themselves. He spoke from his seat, studied no attitudes, and, oblivious of all the rubrics of the rhetorician, would sometimes twist one leg around the other, and negligently lean upon his chair or an adjoining table. But all this indifference to mere outward effect, if noticed at all by others, was forgotten as soon as he began to speak. For soundness of judgment he had no superior, even in that House where many were his seniors in both age and experience.

No stronger evidence of this need be cited than the fact that when in 1851 he was about to sail for Europe, in the expectation of attending the third Jubilee of the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," four of his brother Bishops — Whittingham of Maryland, Chase of New Hampshire, Upfold of Indiana, and Green of Mississippi — united in authorizing him to "represent them in any Council, Convocation, or Convention at which he might be present, and to declare their minds in all matters pertaining to the welfare or advancement of the Church." Other Bishops, and doubtless the whole number, would willingly have done the same; but these four only were within reach at the hour of his departure. An examination of the Journals of the House of Bishops from 1837 to 1859 will convincingly show him to have been a member, if not the chairman, of many of its gravest committees.

Of the modesty and humility of Bishop Otey, a striking proof has already been given in his willingness to concede to Bishop Polk the origination of the University of the South, rather than prolong a contention on so delicate a subject. Another of like character may be found in his diary during his visit to Chapel Hill in 1857. The Rev. Dr. Hawks had been invited to deliver, at their Commencement, a discourse on the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence;" and the Bishop was to preach the sermon of the occasion. In his notes he speaks in very high terms of the Doctor's address, and then adds, —

"I was highly complimented by many gentlemen for my sermon last night, — which I ought to regard as a proof that it was not

what it ought to have been. But, oh this thing called praise! how it spreads over one's moral feelings, like the fragrance of sweet perfumes over the senses! — Lord, let me remember that I am but dust, and less than a worm in thy sight!"

This amiable spirit was in nothing more evident and more meritorious than in his repeated attempts to make peace between parties who were at variance. Notices of this kind are scattered over the pages of his diary: —

"Sept. 21, 1840. Engaged, the greater part of the day, in adjusting an unhappy difficulty between Mrs. S. and Mrs. B——n; and finally succeeded."

"April 29, 1844. Waited on by Mr. C——s, who asks my offices in endeavoring to effect a reconciliation with his wife. Next day I see Mrs. C——s, who utterly abhors her husband, and refuses to live with him again."

"Dec. 21, 1848. Received letter from Mrs. W——n, respecting the difficulty between herself, her sister, and Rev. Dr. W——t. I am afraid that all my efforts to make peace here will prove abortive. — God of peace, direct and help me!"

It is surprising how Bishop Otey managed to be so uniformly cheerful under such cares and labors, and frequent attacks of disease, as he was called to endure. For more than twenty years, with occasional intermissions, he was the helpless victim of dyspepsia, in one or other of its Protean shapes. To this were added sudden and violent attacks of lumbago, which would apparently threaten his life. Of the dyspepsia he says at one time, —

"This disease disqualifies me for the performance of almost every duty; insomuch that I have not the spirit left even to engage in private religious duties, such as reading and prayers.

And yet my heart tells me that I do, under ordinarily favorable circumstances, enter upon these duties cheerfully, and often with pleasure."

It is, however, gratifying to see him thus bearing witness to his own naturally cheerful disposition. After noticing an unhappy state of melancholy into which one of his Clergy (Rev. Dr. P.) had fallen, he adds, —

"It is a terrible thing to be thus beset; and I humbly and most devoutly thank my Heavenly Father, that, during the whole of my life, I have been generally blessed with buoyancy of spirits, so that, under ordinary events of a depressing nature, my mind readily re-acts, and I soon recover my usual tone of cheerfulness."

Superstition has been said to be one of the weaknesses of great minds. It was, we know, a prominent feature in that of the great Dr. Johnson. In the subject of this Memoir, there was just enough of it to break in pleasantly on the uniform display of a judgment seldom at fault. But the superstition of the Bishop did not amount to much more than an occasional presentiment of evil, — the effect, no doubt, of plethora or indigestion. March 4, 1852, he writes, —

"Do coming events cast their shadows before? or do actual occurrences at a distance from us communicate their sadness to our souls through some mysterious and undiscovered spiritual intercourse? I feel to-day as if I were on the eve of hearing some distressing intelligence; and these sad forebodings have, in times past, been but too mournfully realized. I shall hear of the death of some member of my family, or of some one near and dear to me, or of some heart-rending catastrophe, if my feelings indicate the future, or premonish me aright. May the God of consolation and grace prepare me both to do and suffer His will! Why art

thou vexed, O my soul? and why art thou so disquieted within me? Oh, put thy trust in God; for I will yet give Him thanks, who is the help of my countenance, and my God."

Again, Oct. 26, 1857, he says, —

"I rose this morning with a feeling of disquietude, and apprehension of approaching trouble. I went to my study, and endeavored, by prayer, to gain the Divine peace and protection, and commit myself and all my affairs to God's disposal."

The Bishop was at one time publicly charged with being a spiritualist, or at least a firm believer in the reality of their pretended revelations. This charge he promptly and as publicly denied. A mind of such grasp and inquiry as his would naturally desire to look into a subject which was then claiming much of the public attention. Accordingly he says, "My purpose is to investigate this matter thoroughly, with a view to learn the truth." With this purpose he attended several of their *séances*, or exhibitions; acknowledged afterwards that he witnessed much that was strange, wonderful, and amazing; but concluded at last, that, if their manipulations and revelations were the works of spirits, they were spirits of the Evil One.

If ever a father loved his children with a feeling bordering on excess, that father was Bishop Otey. It was a passionate fondness, restrained and regulated only by a dominating consciousness of his duty to them as immortal beings put in trust with him by God. Sternness fled from his brow at the approach of any one of them. His leisure hours were at their command. Their joys were his; and their griefs, whether of hurt or

of sickness, were doubly his own. The anniversaries of their births, their marriages, and their deaths, he lovingly commemorated as often as the rolling year brought them into view; and, as the grave closed upon one after another, it seemed to tear away with it a visible portion of his own life. The following may be taken in proof and illustration of this feeling. He had just finished a letter to Rev. Dr. Crane, who had recently lost two of his children, when he adds, —

"It is a grievous affliction; and no one knows the bitterness of the cup until it is put into the hand, to drink of it, and drain it, even as I have done, to the dregs. If there were nothing else to show us the heinous character of sin, methinks it would be sufficiently discerned in the bereavements of our earthly condition. I have heard persons speak of the soothing influences of time, and it may indeed dry up our tears so that they flow not constantly; but, in my own experience, I find the wound rankling in the heart as sorely as ever, — my love growing for my children, with the flight of years and months and days."

No just estimate of the character of Bishop Otey can be formed without giving great prominence to that which was its crowning grace, or distinguishing feature, viz., his simple and childlike faith; or, in other words, his earnest and unpretending piety. He was undeniably and eminently a man of a devout spirit, as well as of a godly life. No day or night came or passed away without some record of his self-crimination, some prayer for the Divine forgiveness, or some acknowledgment of undeserved mercies. The first day of each year began with a solemn re-dedication of himself to the service of God; and the last ended with a prayer that his many

shortcomings might be overlooked, and his imperfect services accepted, for Christ's sake. In turning over the leaves of his diary, — written with no expectation that it would thus be brought to light, — there may be seen on many a page such notices as the following: —

"May 4, 1857. This day was begun, as usual, in prayer and thanksgiving. I felt my soul drawn out towards God; and yet I was made painfully sensible of those wandering thoughts and distractions of mind about earthly things, which steal upon me unawares, and surprise me in the very offering of my devotions. Oh, when shall I be so freed from the trammels of sense, and the entanglements of worldly occupation, as to realize that a moment spent in uninterrupted communion with God is worth more to the soul than a whole lifetime of engagedness with the world!"

The following extract is taken from a private journal of the Bishop in 1860: —

"Shortly after the Consecration of Bishop Polk, at Cincinnati in 1838, I proposed to him and Bishops Meade and McIlvaine that we should enter into a covenant or agreement to pray for each other every Sunday morning. I have endeavored to keep this promise faithfully, and have never failed in my engagement, I believe, except on urgent necessity. It has often been to me a season of great refreshment and spiritual joy."

To this succeeds the following prayer: —

"Almighty and Everlasting God! mercifully hear and graciously answer the prayers which Thy servants have covenanted to offer for each other at this time, through the intercession of Thy dear Son. Grant, O Lord, that we may never lose sight of the weighty responsibility resting upon us. May we ever realize a deep and abiding sense of the value of souls; and may we never relax our exertions to win them to Christ. May we always have such views of the dreadful nature and danger of sin, and be so affected with

the love of Christ in dying for sinners, that we may esteem no toil too great, no hardship too severe, in warning the ungodly, in reclaiming the erring, and in seeking the lost, that they may be saved through Christ. Be with us in all our journeyings; protect us and ours in all dangers; assist us in all our difficulties; support us under all our trials; enlighten our understandings with heavenly wisdom; and establish our hearts with grace.

"Bless us in our labors this day; and grant that we may rejoice in every opportunity of spreading abroad the truth of Thy holy Gospel, and of proclaiming the glad tidings of reconciliation with Thee. Bless Thy Ministers and Thy people everywhere; and grant that Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations. Hear us in these our prayers; answer us as shall be most expedient for us; and grant us all needed blessings, according to Thy will, in Christ Jesus our Saviour: to whom, with Thee, O Father, and Thee, O Holy Ghost, be glory everlasting. Amen."

The following extracts from a letter of the Bishop to Rev. Mr. Humes, Aug. 27, 1850, will serve to show his views on the important and much-debated subject of sanctification: —

"I have lately had in mind and meditated much on the subject of the conversation which we had at Knoxville. I was expressing to you, as you will remember, my apprehensions of falling far below that measure of sanctification which seemed to be requisite for the enjoyment of heaven. I was thinking about sanctification as a result to be attained by our exertions, — by our faithful use of the means of grace, by the blessing of God upon our efforts made in faith, and upon the discipline to which His providence subjects us. You remember, too, that you quoted that text, that 'Christ is, of God, made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.' It is a glorious text, full of sweet and unspeakable comfort. It takes away from the sinner the very last prop on which to rest a hope that he can do any thing for himself. The whole work was put on Christ. He performed the whole work;

and right it is that all the glory, honor, and praise should be his. . . . Now I am resolved, by God's grace, to strive after sanctification in soul, body, and spirit, as if the whole work depended upon myself. And if the Devil tells me, in contempt of my efforts, to look at the worthlessness, nay, the very abomination of my work, I will, the Lord being my helper, just turn around, and ask him, 'What have you to object to the sanctification which Christ offers me? You have nothing to say against his wisdom and righteousness, and therefore nothing against his sanctification and redemption. Wherefore, get thee behind me, Satan.' "

In a preceding letter to the same Clergyman, he says, —

"That whole system which unhappily led Newman and Oakley and Ward and others astray is, as you intimate, radically wrong. It 'gendereth to bondage,' and keeps the poor conscience-stricken sinner — though he reads that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth — still preposterously striving, by his own works, to establish a righteousness of his own which he may plead for justification. And, though he professes that this is not his object, yet it is manifest that he is unhappy and uneasy unless he is doing something from which he expects to derive peace and hope. Whereas the believer who takes Christ for wisdom and righteousness, for sanctification and redemption, is just as diligent in prayer, in ordinances, and all other things which *spring from a lively faith* in Christ, as the other: only one is the *fruit of faith*, and in the case of the other he is praying and striving and struggling that he *may get faith* and hope, and so he is kept evermore in slavery. When the battle comes, never fear but that I shall be among those who *look to Christ alone* for victory, and have no confidence in the flesh."

Again, in another letter to the same Clergyman, Feb. 24, 1849, he writes: —

"When your welcome letter reached me, I had just returned from visiting a dear lamb of Christ's flock, and administering to

her the Holy Communion, when I was attacked with the same disease which has hurried her away, — as I trust and believe, to a better and a purer world. And I have been raised up! No doubt, for some wise and valuable purpose, — I know not what. The Lord grant that I may know and do his will! I sometimes, and indeed generally, feel so entire a willingness to be quit of earth and earthly things, so great a longing after a sight of the invisible things of the world to come, that I am led to ask myself whether I may not be laboring under some delusion, — whether the Devil is not sure of me, and is therefore blinding my eyes to any just perception of my danger. May not such a thing, think you, happen? But then, again, I say, This cannot be, surely; for I do know and feel that it is the greatest privilege and pleasure on earth to seek God's face in prayer and praise. And when I most feel my unworthiness and vileness, — when I abhor myself most deeply, on account of my corruptions and sins, by which I have debased myself even to hell, and realize that I am abominable and unclean beyond any power of expression which I can use, — even then I feel that the power of Divine grace and mercy is magnified by saving such a wretch as I am, and by cleansing one so foul and polluted. I feel then that here is a work which God alone can accomplish. . . . There is one path of safety for us: Trust the whole matter to the Lord, and cast all our care upon Him."

In yet another letter, Dec. 1, 1848, to the same Clergyman, he beautifully writes: —

"I need not say that I sympathize with you deeply in the trials and spiritual conflicts which you have endured for the last few years. There is not a day that passes in which I do not think of you, and bear you upon my heart, while laying my own sorrows and troubles before Him 'who is touched with a feeling of our infirmities.' But my poor prayers, offered in weakness, avail little to my own benefit, or to that of others. I ought not to, and do not expect to, be heard for any righteousness or merit of my own. Still, as a member — and the meanest and most worthless, as I sometimes feel myself to be — of the body of which He is the

living Head, I do believe that my prayers find access to a throne of grace and mercy, through Him who is our all-prevailing and powerful Advocate and Intercessor. And though we still go on our way mourning, and in heaviness, that is no reason why our cries should cease, or why we should conclude that they are not heard and answered. No humble, devout, believing prayer was ever lost. If we will not receive God's Word, let us be taught by the signs or symbols which He has set in the heavens for our instruction. The rainbow, that most beautiful object in creation, the symbol of the Divine faithfulness, is associated with storm and tempest; yet it brings tidings of the coming of bright and clear skies. How lovely it appears, after the strife and war of elements have passed! As in the rainbow the rays of light are refracted and reflected, so is it in prayer, and in all of our seeking after God. We are not answered as we expected, or as we wished, or at the time we desired. Shall we therefore doubt, and cease to pray, as though God's ear were dull of hearing? In vain shall we seek for the ray of light in a direct and continuous straight line: it is found in all its beauty and fulness refracted and reflected on the bosom of the dark-clouded sky. So prayer is often sent up direct for joy and peace and comfort; but it is refracted into thoughtfulness, reflected thence into penitence and humility, and again refracted into watchfulness, and trust in God. Was that prayer lost? . . . I was visiting a very sick person not long since, and, on approaching the couch of suffering, began to speak in the usual terms of condolence, thus: 'I am very sorry to find you' — when, suddenly checking myself, I continued, 'I was going to say, sorry to find you in so much pain and distress; but I do not know that I ought to use such language to you, or any one; for the greatest mercies and richest blessings are sometimes concealed under the chastisements with which our Heavenly Father sees fit to visit us.' Is it not even so? Does not the Apostle say, 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried,' etc.? Does not another say, 'Tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope [the bow of promise] maketh not ashamed,' etc.? . . . The truth is, that I am so well satisfied that affliction does work spiritual-mindedness in the

believer, that I often fear, in speaking upon this subject, lest I appear to exceed the measure of God's word; and as though I would teach persons to desire affliction and trouble. But I do not mean this (except in a qualified sense). For surely the pious heart might well desire that affliction might be sent to do the work of grace which blessings had failed to effect. The mystery of the cross is best learned under the cross. When we meet in Heaven, as I cannot but think we shall, how will we hold 'high discourse' on all these things!"

"Feb. 7, 1857. Oh, what a blessed privilege is prayer! How my soul sometimes yearns to be freed from those hindrances of an earthly and carnal nature, which repress the spirit of prayer, and restrain the uprising of the soul! Oh that the power of sin were effectually and thoroughly subdued within me!"

"Jan. 15, 1854. What a great blessing it must be to experience that love and trustfulness in prayer, which enables us to say with true emotion, 'Abba, Father!' that makes one cry out with David, 'My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God.' But, alas! how few are willing to receive the chastening necessary to procure such a condition of the inner spiritual man!"

That this outgoing of the heart towards God was no transient or occasional feeling, but an abiding and controlling principle, the faithful study of the Bishop's life will plainly attest. According to his own account, he was, as far back as he could remember, very susceptible to religious impressions. but not of the loving and inviting kind. As has already been stated, he had not the advantage of an early religious training. His parents, though upright and moral in their lives, were connected with no religious denomination. Hence the faith of his boyhood, if faith it might be called, was the outgrowth of the ignorance and misconceptions of the truth by which he was surrounded. He very early imbibed a

fear of God, but was taught nothing of His love and mercy. He thought that he heard the voice of angry God in the thunder, and that a dark corner could hide him out of His sight. In the closing years of his life, his mind often reverted to the scenes and events of his childhood; he remembered the groundless fears, and the mistaken views of God and His providence, which tended only to make his life miserable: and he blessed the Divine Giver as he contrasted them with the higher opportunities and the brighter light vouchsafed in a later day to him and his children.

One evidence of the constraining power of this his love of God may be seen in his conscientious observance of the Lord's Day, and his inculcation of it upon others. From the very nature of their office, those who minister in holy things are compelled to labor on the Sabbath; indeed, that is their chief day of labor. Hence that saying, universally admitted in our Saviour's day, "The priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless." Though fully aware of this privilege, Bishop Otey never availed of it, so long as he had the means of conveying himself from place to place; but when, owing to the increased extent of his jurisdiction, he was compelled to adopt the public means of travel, he often found himself an unwilling violator of the Fourth Commandment. On such occasions, whether in a steamboat, at a village hotel, or in the house of a friend, he was ever ready and desirous to officiate; but he knew men too well to press his services beyond a distinct intimation of his willingness to do so if desired. But here it may be stated that very seldom was he

allowed to be silent at such times, if any were present that had previously listened to his instructive and convincing discourse.

The Bishop had been conversing, one Saturday evening, with a young lady, a member of the Church of England, who was on the eve of returning to her loved country. After she had retired, he makes this significant entry in his diary: "*Ecce quæ conveniunt!* She leaves *to-morrow!* Not much religion in *that.*"

At another time he was travelling in company with the family of a friend. Saturday evening found them twenty miles distant from their destination. The Bishop remained where he was, and found an opportunity to preach the next day; but his friend's party set out early on Sunday morning. He thus moralizes on the subject after they were gone: —

"Thus will be presented to the sight of an unbelieving world the spectacle of professed Christians wilfully violating the Lord's Day when there is no necessity for it."

Another instance may be given. On removing from Columbia to Memphis, the Bishop rented his house to a Mr. Martin. A few days after, the son of Mr. Martin informed the Bishop that several wagons would be at his house on the following Sunday to deposit his father's furniture.

"I told him plainly and distinctly [said the Bishop] that they could not be received at my house on Sunday. To-day he repeated his determination to bring in and unload the wagons to-morrow (Sunday). When I told him that it should not and must not be done, he very pointedly replied that it was none of my business

to object or interfere, that he would compel me by law, and that I was not his father's friend in keeping the teams at an expense, etc., etc. To all which I replied, 'Mr. Martin, *you* SHALL NOT *unload your wagons at my house on Sunday.*'"

N.B. — The wagons came on *Monday.*

The following incident will serve to show how fair and open, and without concealment, was the habit of his life. On his first visit to the Indian Territory, he was sitting in the porch of the hotel at Fort Smith, engaged in a game of chess with one of the officers. In the midst of the game, the Rev. Mr. K——y, a Presbyterian Minister, was seen approaching. His companion proposed to the Bishop that they should conceal the board by covering it with a newspaper; but the Bishop quickly replied, "No, friend B.: whatever God sees, I am willing that any man shall see."

It remains now to speak of Bishop Otey as a writer and preacher. The death-roll of the last twenty-three years has inscribed on it a large portion of those who were once his delighted hearers or his favored correspondents; but there yet remain many who can bear witness to the power both of his tongue and pen. A perusal of any one of the subjoined sermons or addresses can hardly fail to show to the reader that the general style of the Bishop was of a clear, strong, fervid, and scholar-like character, with just enough of ornament to please the reader without distracting his attention. His discourses, as to their nature or subject, were uniformly instructive, practical, and exhaustive; leaving the hearer something to take home with him, and to think upon.

In his delivery he was earnest, forcible, and impressive, with no attempt at display or mere temporary effect. He dealt but seldom in the pathetic, though often himself affected to tears under the awful solemnity of his subject. He could touch the conscience without any undue appeal to the passions, but would occasionally stir up an emotional hearer to an unexpected state of excitement. He was once preaching in Franklin, on the danger and the fatal ending of a sinful course. By way of illustration, he drew the picture of a young man leaving a home where he had been religiously trained, yielding easily to temptation, and finally lost to a sense of shame and sin. He was showing how, step by step, the unhappy youth had been led in the path of the destroyer, until he stood on the crumbling brink of destruction; when the cry, "*My God! he's gone!*" broke, with a startling effect, on both preacher and hearer. It came from an unsophisticated youth in the congregation, who, with open eyes and ears and mouth, had so closely followed the Bishop as to be oblivious of all present surroundings. Would to God that there were many more such preachers and hearers!

The pulpit may with truth be said to have been the home, the joy, the forte, of the Bishop. Without any undue self-esteem, he must have been conscious of his power; for he could not but read it in the uniform attention and admiration of all who heard him. It was his highest enjoyment to preach. No part of his Master's service did he relish so well, and in none were his people more proud to contemplate him. The chief subjects on which he delighted to dwell were redemption

through Christ, the religious education of the young, and the duty of caring for the negro. If his sermons had a fault, it was in their unusual length, — generally one hour, not unfrequently an hour and a half, and occasionally two hours. Few men of his day could so long have held in attention a mixed congregation. His discourses partook of the character of his mind, — a fulness to overflowing, and a grasp that took in the whole subject, together with a desire to impart as much to his hearers. No matter what his theme might be, his resources seemed to be inexhaustible. In this respect he might have been likened to the great Dr. Barrow, of the English pulpit, whom King James accused of being an *unfair* preacher, — unfair, in so treating his subject as to leave nothing for any one to say after him. But, long as his sermons were, he was often, after their delivery, asked for copies of them, or for the loan of them, for private reading. Frequent requests were made by his Clergy and people, that certain sermons of his might be repeated a second and even a third time. The writer remembers having seen it noted on the back of one of his manuscripts, that it had been preached in various places, from Boston to New Orleans, one hundred and twenty times.

In confirmation of what has been stated of Bishop Otey as a preacher, it is a pleasure to take into view the following extract from the sermon of one of his Clergy, the Rev. John A. Harrison, preached shortly after the death of the Bishop: —

"In strength of mind, vigor of intellect, and reach and grasp of thought, Bishop Otey had no superior in the Church. He looked

the Bishop. He preached as indeed a 'Legate of the skies.' His majestic person, his manly countenance, his piercing eye, and impressive manner compelled attention, whether he stood before a State Legislature, or a Council of Indians; in a city church, or in a lowly cottage; in an English cathedral, or before a congregation of negroes. He unfolded and illustrated and enforced his sacred theme with profound ability, and in language at once the most select, the most appropriate, and the most forcible. He was mighty in the Scriptures, and that made him wise to win souls. He knew nothing among his people but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. The doctrines of the cross were the sum-total of his religion, and the anchor of his soul. He was singularly tender in his feelings, as gentle as a woman in the sick-chamber, and as kind as a brother to the poor. Though often moved to tears in the pulpit, he was yet a man who would have died by his principles; and through evil report and good report he did maintain them."

It is much to be regretted that the Bishop so positively forbade the publication of his manuscript sermons. Those to be found in the Appendix, together with a few addresses, are such as went to press, with his consent, at various times, before his last illness. The three sermons on the Church, when they first appeared in 1843, fell like a bombshell among the various denominations of the South-West. It seemed like a new revelation to them all, and a kind of declaration of war. Each thought itself the special object of attack; and all agreed to look upon the Church, thenceforth, as a "common enemy." It was the work of much time to allay that unhappy feeling. The Bishop deeply regretted its existence; but solaced himself with the reflection, "It is truth, and I must tell it: it is the Gospel, and I must preach it. 'Tis safer far, in this case, to bear anger from men than a woe from God."

His letters of condolence were numberless, wisely adapted to each case of suffering, and abounding with all the consolation that mere human sympathy could impart.

Bishop Otey was a man of extensive reading, and, having a retentive memory, accumulated a large amount of sound and various learning. Indeed, to the more intimate of his friends and associates it was a matter of wonder, how, in the midst of so much journeying and preaching and teaching, and anxious concern for his family and his Diocese, he found the opportunity to lay up such a store of profitable knowledge. He was deeply read in the Word of God; and that seemed to throw a light on all other subjects, by showing that they were all parts of one great whole, with glimpses of truth amid the mists and darkness of human ignorance and error.

The following extracts, taken from a letter of Bishop Odenheimer to the Rev. Dr. Craik, will show very plainly what that Bishop thought of the subject of this Memoir: —

"In all that adorns the meek, loving, Christ-like disciple, in all that gives strength and dignity to a ruler in the Church, in all that helps to sweeten and elevate man's intercourse with his fellows, Bishop Otey shared largely. The result was a character of singular beauty and attractiveness. . . . Intellectually, he maintained a high place among men of culture; although solidity and straightforwardness, rather than brilliancy, characterized his style of thought and speech. As a Divine, he was well read, especially in all that appertained to the defence of the faith and Church of Christ. '*Evangelical Faith and Apostolic Order*' was emphatically his motto, and in his practical application of it he followed strictly

the Apostolic injunction to 'speak the truth in love.' Never did a Christian Bishop work more unselfishly, or with more indomitable perseverance. The glory of God in Christ was the well-spring of his noble self-sacrifices, of his persistent zeal, and of the intense reality that characterized him. The tone of his mind was devotional. He was eminently a man of prayer, and yet was fond of creating and enjoying in others whatever was truly human and genial. Few Ministers, of any order, have been so well fitted to influence men, and few have been so successful."

Similar is the testimony of the Rev. and excellent Dr. Pise, one of the most loved and esteemed of the Bishop's clergy: —

"It is amazing that any man could have undergone, for any length of time, such exposures as his journal records, such exhausting labors as his wide field of duty imposed. But he lived to see the fruit of his spiritual husbandry in the erection of Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas into Episcopal sees, with faithful and earnest men appointed to the duties of the Episcopal Office in each. . . . Under difficulties that few students of theology at the present day are called to encounter, he acquired a store of sound theological learning which any one might covet. Of him it might be truly said, He was mighty in the Scriptures, and few could apply them with such marvellous skill and quickness. . . . His eloquence was that telling mastery of a genuine orator, which works its way straight through to the understanding and the heart; forcing conviction upon the one, and inciting to action the other. Profound thought; varied research; argument clear, cogent, solid; a diction often elegant, always marked with strength and dignity; an elocution and manner peculiarly his own, bold, earnest, and striking, — these were his characteristics as a preacher. Every thought, every word, every movement, was but the interpreter of the intense reality of the man."

It is thought by many, that the mental character of a man may be safely inferred from that of his hand-

writing; but, in strictness, no criterion could be more wide of the mark. In the case of the subject of this present sketch, however, there was a marked agreement between the two. Every manuscript of Bishop Otey — plain, neat, without a flourish, and legible to the weakest sight — seems to set the writer before the reader as the very soul of honesty and fair dealing; an open book, to be read of all men. In this respect he bore an unconscious resemblance to the man he most admired, the first and great Bishop of North Carolina; whose chirography was without fault, and who one day, in the streets of Philadelphia, said to the writer, "There is not a thought in my heart which I would be afraid to proclaim from yonder steeple."

It is surprising that one who wrote with such uniform force and correctness as did Bishop Otey, should at the same time have written so rapidly. Repeated instances occur in his diary, of his having prepared a sermon, a funeral discourse, or a public address, after less than a twenty-four-hours' notice. And this he could do, apparently, as well in the midst of his journeying, as in his quiet study with his well-stored library around him. His view of each subject was so clear, and his thoughts so well ordered, that a reader of his manuscript sermons might turn page after page, without finding a single addition, erasure, or interlineation. The vessel seemed to be always full, needing only the decanting hand.

Thus has this labor of love come to an end. Thus has the writer fulfilled his mournful but pleasing task, — mournful in the consciousness that he has been writing

of one whom he shall never see again in the flesh; pleasing in the opportunity afforded of recalling, and setting before the living, an example of true piety and zealous labor for Christ, which all must admire, and many would do well to follow. He has, in all fairness, endeavored to show "the man as he was," — honest and generous, true to his great trust, grand in intellect but childlike in disposition, tender in heart but fearless in action, just to all men, and a faithful servant of God.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BISHOP'S DIARY.

THE following extracts from the Bishop's diary can hardly fail to interest the reader; as they will serve to let him into the inner and every-day life of a man who took heed unto his ways, and loved to hold communion with himself. It is much to be regretted, that so many of the little volumes which made up his diary have been lost. Enough remain, however, to reveal much of the singular beauty of the Bishop's character, and the labors which he performed.

A.D. 1833.

"MARCH 16. My negro woman Charlotte died to-day, after a short and painful illness. Never have I been so seriously and powerfully impressed with the importance of faithfully instructing our domestics on the subject of religion. May God, of His great mercy, forgive my past neglect, and grant me grace hereafter to be more faithful and diligent. I now see that I did not do half the duty of a Christian master to my poor servant."

"JUNE 27. Convention met in Franklin, at the Masonic Hall."

"JUNE 29. Proceeded to the election of a Bishop. The choice fell upon myself, having received every vote except those of Rev. Mr. Weller and myself. May the Lord be merciful unto me, and strengthen me. — Thou knowest, O God, that I feel myself un-

equal to the burthen of this high and holy Office. But, through Thy grace, I can do all things which Thy wisdom may appoint for me."

"Nov. 16. Rev. L. Polk received into Canonical connection with the Diocese. May the merciful Lord make him an instrument of much good."

"Nov. 19. On Tuesday night, the 12th inst., a most remarkable phenomenon occurred at this place. A few hours before day, the whole heavens were lighted up by thousands of the most brilliant meteors. They generally descended perpendicularly, leaving in their track a faintly luminous bar, which presently vanished. They were, at some times, so numerous as to appear like large flakes of falling snow. It was indeed a magnificent spectacle. Many persons were much alarmed, and thought that the Day of Judgment had come. Alas for the folly of unbelief! which lives in constant dread of the final reckoning, and yet rejects the mercy of the Gospel."

1837.

In his Address to his Convention, after announcing the death of Bishop White, he says, —

"We have reason for devout gratitude to God, that He was pleased to continue one so distinguished for prudence, moderation, and wisdom, so many years, to labor and advise for the prosperity of the Church. May the mantle of his unostentatious piety, mild and gentle temper, and Christian simplicity, rest upon those whom he has left to take up and carry forward the work which his heart was always willing and his hands ready to perform."

"It has been my practice, in visiting the congregations, to assemble as many of the Clergy as can meet together with convenience, and try the effect of continued religious exercises for several days together. I am induced to think that this course has, in some instances, been attended with happy effects. Still it is not by any means to be relied on as better than the regular and systematic inculcation of Divine truth, from week to week, in the stated ministrations of the parochial Clergy."

"During Feb. and March engaged in the painful duty of presiding at the trial of Bishop Smith."

1838.

"JAN. 14. After preaching both forenoon and afternoon in Nashville, I was attacked by the illness which interrupted and cut short my undertaken visitation of the Churches in the South; and which disabled me, during the greater part of the winter and spring, from the performance of any duty involving either fatigue or exposure. I wish here to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the Right Rev. Bishop Kemper for the readiness with which he complied with my request, to take my place in visiting our distant brethren in the South and West. My lack of service was thus supplied, and in a manner which, I rejoice to learn, was most acceptable to the people he visited."

In this year the Bishop paid a visit to the congregations in Florence and Tuscumbia, in Alabama. On returning from this visit to that State, he says, —

"From the indications which I witnessed of interest in our services, I trust the day is not distant when the vine which has been here planted in faith, and carefully nurtured, by our modest and unassuming brother minister, Rev. Mr. Cooke, will take root downward, and bear fruit upward, and furnish shade under which many shall seek, and find refreshment in that beautiful region."

1839.

"Nov. 21. Heard to-day of the death of my beloved and honored father. O gracious and merciful God! grant me grace to receive and improve this dispensation of Thy wise providence in a way becoming the Gospel of Christ. Help me to realize my own mortality, and may I be quickened in the pursuit of heavenly things. Enable me to be truly thankful that my dear parent was supported and comforted in his last hours, and blessed with a peaceful end. I pray Thee, O Lord, to comfort my bereaved mother with a sense of Thy goodness; and prepare her, by grace,

for the great change that is before her. And wilt Thou also look in mercy upon all my brothers and sisters, and bring them to a saving knowledge of Thee and Thy salvation. I ask these blessings in the name of Christ Jesus my Lord. Amen."

Although much of the Bishop's diary for 1839 is lost, enough of it remains to assure us that within that year he performed two full visitations of his Diocese, on horseback.

1840.

"Jan. 4. Committed the body of my servant Joe to the ground, this evening at sundown, in hope of a resurrection to the life eternal. He died a professed believer."

"Feb. 16. My daughter Sarah worse. I can only try to look up to a gracious God for her restoration."

"Feb. 19. Sarah slowly mending. God be praised that his mercy has turned our sorrow and deep pain into joyful expectation of hope! The Lord strengthen and confirm our hope."

"Feb. 21. Sarah, by God's blessing, convalescent."

"April 18. Slept but little last night, as there was dancing on board the boat. Advised Miss M——y, a member of the Church, not to dance; which advice she does *not* take."

"June 10. Went to the Institute, and heard the recitation of my class on Christian Evidences, and Abercrombie on the Moral Affections."

"July 2. Engaged all day in examining pupils at the Institute."

"Aug. 16. Visited my father's grave. Every thing reminds me that the honored head of this family is gone. Rev. Mr. Cobbs preached the funeral sermon."

"Sept. 18. Found all well on reaching home; for which I desire to render my heartfelt thanks to God, whom I wish always to acknowledge as the Author of all my mercies."

"Oct. 13. Gathered several curious flowers, on the way, for wife."

"Nov. 3. Went to town, and voted the Whig ticket."

"Nov. 8. Read much about the Moravians. What self-denial exhibited by these men to extend the knowledge of Christ! Their zeal and piety deserving of all praise."

"Nov. 29. Enjoyed private devotion greatly, this morning. Felt that I could give myself and all that I have, without reserve, to God."

"Dec. 12. Been all day long visiting. Weary, weary world!"

1841.

"Jan. 1. Mercifully preserved, by God's goodness, to the beginning of another year. I desire to commit myself and all that I have to His gracious care and protection."

In compliance with repeated invitations, the Bishop devoted the months of February and March of this year, to a visitation of the Churches in Florida.

"Jan. 2. Set out on a visitation to Florida, through Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia."

"Jan. 10. Got aboard the steamer *after dark!* Mistaken civilities and kindnesses cause no little trouble to a Bishop."

"Jan. 27. On this day I am forty-one years of age. Alas, how little advanced in grace! Gracious God, help me to be more devoted to Thy service, and more desirous of Thy grace."

"Jan. 29. *Rain, rain, rain.*"

"Feb. 6. Rain, *rain*, RAIN. I have scarcely seen the sun for the last four weeks."

"Sunday, 7th. *More rain!* What a comfortless time I have had since I left home! Truly the Office of a Bishop is no sinecure in this country. How little do those know of the privations and discomforts we endure, who have no personal experience of them! What would I not give to be this evening seated at my own fireside, with my children around me?"

"Feb. 8. Take the stage-coach at Montgomery. After going twenty-five miles, the main cross-tree of the stage broke, and we stopped to make a new one at a blacksmith's shop. I helped to

blow the bellows, and acted as striker, for the smith. It was now night, dark and raining, roads getting worse. I had to walk at least four miles, carrying a torch; for it was with great difficulty that the horses could pull the empty stage. At dawn of day, passed the spot where the Indians, four years ago, attacked the stage, killed the driver and passengers, broke up the stage, and burnt the whole together. When within three miles of Columbus, the stage was upset, and came down heavily. By God's mercy, no one was seriously injured. My right knee was bruised, and my head jarred and stunned by the fall."

"Feb. 16. Heard to-day of the loss of the steamer 'Lamplighter,' upon which I was about to take passage at Mobile. So it seems that God, in His mercy, provides for us better than we can for ourselves."

On his arrival in Tallahassee, he says, —

"I dined with Gov. B. and family. He has lately lost a daughter, and last year a son. These bereavements have humbled him much; and he says that he is resolved, by the grace of God, to live henceforth in the service of his Redeemer."

"Feb. 23. Preached in Tallahassee, assisted by Rev. Mr. Lee, and administered the Holy Communion."

"March 2. Gov. B. came to the vestry-room, took my hand, and with tears thanked me, saying he had no language to express his feelings. May the Lord lead and direct him aright!"

Ever since leaving home the Bishop had met with little else than rain, rain, rain. On setting out upon his return, he says, "With joy I left the soil of Florida, where I have been water-locked for three weeks." But he immediately adds, "Many are the tokens of good-will I have received. May the Lord reward those who have given them!" He here refers not only to the kind and hospitable attentions of the people, but to the liberality with which they contributed to the object

of his laborious journey; viz., the release of the debt then due upon the Institute.

"MAY 31. Reached Columbia at one o'clock. On getting home, find all well; for which God be devoutly thanked and praised, through Christ our Lord!"

"SEPT. 12. Set out for the General Convention. During my absence I preached and delivered addresses in Louisville, Cincinnati, and Rochester; in seven Churches of New York, two in Boston, three in Providence, three in Philadelphia, one in Petersburg and Lynchburg; taking collections in each for Female Institute."

"NOV. 11. To-day at 4 P.M., a boat appeared in sight, with a black flag at the bow, and a gentleman standing on the deck with crape on his hat and arm. It was the Rev. Mr. Atkinson of Lynchburg, conveying the body of good old Bishop Moore to Richmond. He died this morning, full of years, and blessed by thousands whom he taught the way of salvation."

"NOV. 30. Reach home at 2 P.M., and find my family in better health than I anticipated. Thus has the Lord brought me again in peace to my house. His mercy and goodness never fail. O God, my Saviour, I desire to praise and thank Thee with my whole heart!"

1842.

"JAN. 19. Find that Mrs. G. is working against Rev. Dr. Wheat, *spargeus infamia verba inter vulgus*. May God forgive her iniquity in another world, and expose her infamous acts in this!"

"FEB. 4. Reached Hernando in Mississippi. Urge Rev. Mr. Matthews to get us off early, in time for service. We get off *late*, and find nothing ready when we reach the Church; the house filled with smoke, and only eight or ten persons present. I put out the fire, and threw the brands out of the door. Every thing wrong; and Mr. M., the Minister of the Parish, instead of bestirring himself to have matters done decently and in order, sitting down and complaining of the people and of his hard and miserable lot."

"FEB. 13. I write to Mr. M. that his influence at Hernando

is utterly at an end, and that I had advised the Domestic Missionary Committee to withdraw their appropriation from his Station."

On his way to visit Arkansas, Feb. 19, he writes, —

"Dined with Mr. G., a real Yankee, — treats me to boiled pork, a dish of beans, and a glass of milk."

During the Bishop's visitation of Mississippi, this year, after officiating at a number of places, he reached the residence of Dr. William Newton Mercer, twelve miles below Natchez. The doctor was a man of great wealth, owning nearly a thousand slaves, and was, from first to last, a great admirer and generous friend of the Bishop. He had, of himself, erected on his principal estate a beautiful Church of the Grecian order, having a tesselated marble floor, and a good deal of sculpture of superior order. In addition to this, he had provided a Rectory, and placed in it a faithful Minister (Rev. Mr. Deacon), who was to baptize the children of his slaves, and train them in obedience to Christ. On this occasion, one hundred and ten children and eight adults were to be baptized; Dr. Mercer and Miss Eliza Young, an aged female relative, being their sponsors and witnesses. The Church was crammed, and even darkened, with the ebony faces of fathers and mothers and sucklings. The Bishop preached one of his excellent sermons; and all went well until Mr. Deacon, after baptizing nearly forty of the little ones, became so overcome with laughter that the Bishop had to take his place. But before getting through with the remaining seventy-four, he himself came very near yielding to the

same temptation. The cause of this was the unexpected and utterly incongruous names of the little darkies.[1] The Bishop then adds, —

"Water was consecrated three times before the service was ended. May God grant His blessing on this work, for Jesus Christ's sake. After all the service was over, I addressed the adults, in the most serious manner, upon their duties to both their earthly and heavenly Masters. They appeared deeply impressed."

"May 26. This evening, at half-past seven, my dear Virginia was united in holy matrimony to Benjamin B. Minor, by the Right Rev. Dr. Polk, at St. Peter's Church, Columbia, in the presence of my own family and many other witnesses. May God graciously smile upon and bless this union."

"May 30. A day of deep sadness to us all. Our dearest Virginia left us this morning, for her distant home in Richmond, Va. May Heaven's peace and richest blessings go with thee, my child! She has passed away from me like a vision of light, and my heart is almost broken."

"June 5. Am to leave home to-day, for Columbus, Miss. Merciful Lord, protect and bless all whom I leave behind."

1844.

"Jan. 1. This is the commencement of a new year. God grant it may also be the beginning of a better life!"

"Jan. 27. To-day I am forty-four years of age. Little have I done for the service of Christ in this world. Lord, help me to be more faithful and more fruitful!"

"March 1. Received a check of one thousand dollars from Dr. Mercer, as an expression of friendship and interest in my

[1] The reader will readily pardon the good Bishop, when he is told that among the names were the following (titles and all): "Queen Victoria," "Prince Albert," "Lord Wellington," "John Quincy Adams," "General Andrew Jackson," "General William Henry Harrison," "Daniel Webster," "Henry Clay," "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego," etc. These names had been suggested to the parents by a frolicsome young female friend who had been spending some time with Dr. Mercer.

welfare. May a gracious God enable me to show myself not unworthy of so marked and distinguished a favor, and make me truly thankful to Him for raising for me such a friend and benefactor."

March 23, after a long and toilsome journey by steamer and on horseback, the Bishop reaches Fort Towson, then the outermost military post of our Southern country. On his arrival, he writes: "*Weary! weary! weary!*"

"March 31. Slept in Terrill's house (an Indian) last night — the hardest floor I ever lay upon. Went next day upon the top of a neighboring mountain, and again dedicated myself, and all that I have, in solemn prayer to God. This is the anniversary of my wife's birth. Fervently have I prayed for her."

"April 3. Reached Fort Smith. Kindly received by Gen. Zachary Taylor."

"April 5. In conjunction with the Masons, lay the corner-stone of Trinity Church, Van Buren."

"April 13. Rode with Dr. Mercer to his Ormond plantation. Negroes well fed, clothed, and lodged, and to all appearance happy. They shake hands with their master, and his daughter, Miss Anna."

"May 7 & 8. Steamer 'Franklin'; sleep on cabin-floor — or, rather, lay without sleep."

"June 3. I accept the rectorship of St. Peter's Church, Columbia."

"July 15. Rev. Mr. S——s read prayers. *Miserabiliter!*"

"July 27. Anniversary of my dear Heber's death. God grant that I may so live as to join him in a purer and a better world."

"Aug. 5. Virginia's birthday. Many happy returns of it to thee, my dear child."

"(Steamer 'Muskingum') Sept. 23. To-day Bishop Polk and myself had a long talk with Sydney Rigdon, the notorious assist-

ant of Joe Smith the Mormon prophet. Rigdon is both knave and fool."

"(New York, House of Bishops) Oct. 10. Presented my Report as Missionary Bishop, and tendered my resignation."

"Oct. 19. Pastoral Letter was read this morning in House of Bishops. Eleven Bishops, including myself, object to some of its references."

"Nov. 4. Set off this morning, and traversed two or three streets in the rain, asking contributions to the Female Institute, and received only eighteen dollars."

"Nov. 7. To-day, with Bishops Meade and Elliott, made a presentment of Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk for trial. May God pardon my errors, and want of judgment, if I have erred, and overrule all to the good of his Church, for Christ's sake."

"Nov. 11. Called on Rev. Dr. Se——y. *Very cold, — cold as an iceberg.* Who cares!"

"Nov. 17. Went to Sully's this morning, and sat for my portrait, at the request of Dr. Mercer."

"Dec. 31. Last day of a year full of mercies. May God make me truly thankful."

1846.

"Oct. 10. Paul left us to-day for Memphis. God be gracious to thee, my son, bless, preserve, and keep thee!"

"Nov. 24. To-day, my beloved daughter Henrietta was united in holy matrimony to the Rev. Charles Tomes. May God bless this union."

On their departure, a few days after, he writes: —

"God Almighty bless and keep you, my beloved children, and at last crown you with the blessing of eternal life."

"Dec. 31. This is the last day of the year, — a year distinguished by favors and mercies from God. O God, my God, help me, for Jesus Christ's sake, to show forth my gratitude to Thee, for Thy many undeserved blessings, by loving Thee more, and serving Thee better!"

1847.

"JAN. 1. This day I desire to dedicate myself and all I have, unreservedly, to that gracious God who has taken care of me all the days of my life. O God, bless and keep us in health and safety, and make us Thy children by grace as well as by adoption, for Christ's sake."

"WEDNESDAY, 6th. This morning, being the Epiphany, I baptised, at family prayers, Hannah's child [a negro servant] by the name of John. May God keep him, even to His heavenly kingdom."

"MONDAY, 11th. Left home this morning, for the visitation of the Churches in Mississippi. I first burnt out all my chimneys; and commended my dear wife and children to God, invoking His gracious and merciful protection."

"FRIDAY, *May* 23. *Mihi atra dies!* The darkest and bitterest day of my life. My noble-minded, generous-hearted, and beloved child, Sarah McGavock, departed this life to-day at twelve o'clock. O God! Thou hast indeed smitten me down and crushed me. I most humbly beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ, to bring me at last to rejoin her happy and, as I trust, her glorified spirit in a holier and purer world."

"SATURDAY, 29th. Weeping has 'endured through the night,' but no joy cometh in the morning."

"SUNDAY, 30th. How gloomy has been this day of sacred rest! It has brought no rest to my poor sorrow-stricken heart. I have staid at home with my family, and endeavored, by reading the Bible, by meditation and prayer, to calm my troubled soul. My heart is with my noble and gifted Sarah."

"FRIDAY, *June* 4. This day, a week ago, my beloved Sarah died. O my God, how it pains my poor heart to write that word *died!* Oh, that I could have died for her! Merciful and gracious Father, give me faith to believe Thy promises, to trust Thy word, and be resigned to Thy holy will."

"SUNDAY, *June* 6. Preached in St. Peter's Church, and administered the Holy Communion. In the afternoon, went to the Institute, and addressed the children for an hour and a half on the subject of religion."

The next day we hear him, like David over his beloved Absalom, mourning, and writing, —

"My heart still yearns for my child, my beloved Sarah. O God, give me resignation."

"Sunday, 13th. Preached in St. Peter's, A.M. In afternoon, read prayers and preached. In the morning, also had a long conversation with the boys of my school on the subject of religion."

"Friday, 25th. Met my wife and children at dear Sarah's grave; around which we prayed to be resigned to God's will, and that we may all meet as one unbroken family in heaven."

"Monday, 30th. Left Mr. Buford's this morning, and rode to 'Fancy Farm,' the place where my childhood, the happiest period of my life, was spent. I went up to the house, walked around it, and into the garden — almost every thing changed. My heart was full to overflowing."

"Sept. 24. Have been employed nearly all day in reading S —— y's examination of the Onderdonk trial. His remarks are a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation."

On Wednesday, 15th of June, the Convention of the Diocese was held in Columbia.

"June 18. My beloved Presbyter, Rev. Philip W. Alston, died last night at ten o'clock. We, the Clergy at Convention, knelt around his bed in prayer in his last hour, and commended his soul to God."

"Sept. 4. At Liberty, Va., acting under the authority of the Bishop of that Diocese, I consecrated a Church to the worship of Almighty God, and held a confirmation. I performed these services with a peculiar gratification, as being in the vicinity where I was born, and where passed the happy years of my childhood and youth, and where, in those early days, the solemn forms of our Liturgy were unknown."

1848.

"Jan. 1. The beginning of a new year. I arose early, and endeavored, in the best way I could, to thank God for all His past

mercies, dedicating myself and all that I have to His service, and invoking His gracious protection on me and mine."

"JAN. 14. The anniversary of my consecration fourteen years ago. O God, help me to be more faithful, that I may be more fruitful."

"FEB. 7. My loving, sprightly, generous-souled Fanny lies shrouded, a pale corpse. We have prayed for resignation to Heaven's will."

"FEB. 8. I have to-day felt all the bitterness of grief in realizing that my precious little Fanny is gone. O God, let it please Thee to calm our troubled souls. Employed myself as diligently as my depressed mind would permit, in the composition of a sermon, in reading God's Word, and in prayer."

"FEB. 11. The world is sad, and I am low in the mire of despondency. But God sees my heart, and knows that I do not falter in my purpose to love and serve Him. No, not for a moment."

"MAY 23. To-day twelve months ago, my dear Sarah was taken away from me. May the Lord grant us a happy re-union in his heavenly kingdom."

"AUG. 30. Employed all day long in transcribing a sermon from 'Plain Sermons,' which I design to use next Sunday, for want of a better of my own; a thing I sometimes do, not for vainglory, but from a desire to promote edification."

"SUNDAY, *Dec.* 10. Attended at St. Peter's Church. In the afternoon I remained at home to instruct my grown servants by reading the Bible and prayer."

"SUNDAY, *Dec.* 17. Remained at home in the afternoon; had prayers, and read one of Glennie's sermons to Peggy, and instructed her in the Creed."

"SUNDAY, 31st. To-day, after prayers by Rev. Mr. Cressy, I preached, and confirmed five persons, and made them an Address. After service I went to the graves of my beloved children, and there tried to dedicate myself unreservedly to God in prayer. I prayed that these afflictions which so weighed on my heart might wean me and mine from the world, and make us as a family meet for the enjoyment of His heavenly and eternal kingdom. And

thus closes a year memorable to me for its afflictions and its spiritual blessings."

1849.

"JAN. 1. Mercifully preserved by a kind Providence, to the beginning of a new year, I desire to acknowledge this favor, and humbly dedicate myself and all that I have to God's service."

"SUNDAY, 14th. This day, fifteen years ago, I was consecrated to the holy Office of a Bishop in the Church of God. Alas! how little fruit can I now see of the labors of those years! Lord, my God, strengthen, qualify, and enlighten me to do Thee true and laudable service."

"TUESDAY, *March* 6. Anniversary of my darling Fanny's death. Gracious and merciful Father, sanctify this event to my soul's health, and give me humble resignation to Thy holy will."

"APRIL 9. Spent the day in fishing; caught nine fine trout. John Baird fell in the river, and I saved him from drowning by holding out my fishing-rod to him."

"DEC. 31. I am thus, by the merciful providence of God, brought to the close of another year, — a year that has been distinguished by many blessings. Although the cholera has visited many parts of the country, and we have been more or less exposed to its ravages, by the favor of our Heavenly Father not one of those who were most dear to me have been affected by it. We have also been graciously exempted from other judgments which our sins might justly have drawn upon us. For these so great favors, and for the many blessings we have enjoyed, I desire to record here my sense of deep and lasting obligation, and a corresponding expression of gratitude to Almighty God our Heavenly Father."

1851.

Being advised by friends to visit Europe for his health, the Bishop embarked, April 12, in steamer "Waterloo." His diary is long and minute, and written for his children only.

"(At sea) April 18. This is Good Friday. How few of all this ship's company seem to remember the tragical interest of this day, and the incalculable blessings secured to man by the death of our Saviour Jesus Christ! Read good old Bishop Hall's sermon on the Passion."

"April 22. Encountered a violent storm. It required skill, energy, and decision, with God's blessing, to save us. There was great alarm among most of the passengers, and some thought that all was lost. God interposed for our safety. To Him be all the praise."

1852.

"March 13. Dined to-day with a goodly number of friends. The meeting was in many respects very pleasant; except that it is now Lent, and I feel it very irksome to refuse to indulge in the good things which the kindness and civility of friends provide for our entertainment."

"March 29 [after his return from Europe]. Arrived at home about 12 A.M., and found all well. I am now, after an absence of more than twelve months, once more under my own roof, and in restored health. How much cause have I to be thankful! Multiplied have been the favors which a gracious and kind God hath bestowed upon me. And I desire to feel humbly and truly thankful. But it is not in man's heart to feel the gratitude which his lips would fain acknowledge. It is God alone can give the ability to be truly thankful. He alone can awaken the song of praise, and make the believer feel that it is 'a pleasant and joyful thing to be thankful.' Lord, tune my heart to love and praise."

"Nov. 8. Left Columbia after living there seventeen years."

"Nov. 12. Reached Memphis. My first sermon (Nov. 14) was from Rom. xii. 1, 2: 'Tendency of worldly amusements.'"

"Dec. 12. Commenced worship in 'High-tower Hall,' a room rented over an oyster-room, and having a dancing-academy in an adjoining apartment. The hall is to be used as a billiard-room during the week, and for Divine worship on Sunday. I have come hither to work; and, if the opportunity is offered me, I intend to do so, sedulously and faithfully, in the fear of God, looking to Him for a blessing on my labors. The associations of this Hall are by

no means desirable; but it seems that we can do no better, and the question arises, Shall we worship in the 'House of Rimmon,' or not at all?"

"Dec. 13. Much disturbed about Bishop Doane's trial, but satisfied with the result."

1854.

"Jan. 1. By God's gracious goodness, I find myself alive and in good bodily health at the beginning of a new year. My spirit has been greatly bowed down during the week just past. I have been sorely tempted to indulge in an evil or angry temper; but not without cause, as Thou, my God, knowest. But surely I have yielded too much to the infirmity of my nature. I have felt ashamed to lift up my hands or voice to God. But, thanks to His Name, I was able early this morning to prostrate myself in body and soul before Him; and, in the name of our most holy and adorable Redeemer, dedicate myself anew to His Service. Lord, accept my offering!"

"Jan. 27. Fifty-fourth birthday. I have passed the meridian of life. My sun has culminated, and has begun to descend to the land of shadows, where all shall be enveloped in the night of death. Merciful Lord, be pleased to raise me from the death of sin, to the life of righteousness; and daily renew me by thy Holy Spirit."

1861.

"Jan. 1. The beginning of a new year. Begun in prayer, and in renewed and humble dedication of myself, soul and body and spirit, to God. May this year be the best of all the years of my life; distinguished by faithful diligence in His service. Lord, prepare me for all that Thou shalt order for me. Make me Thine, wholly Thine; and that will satisfy my soul!"

"Jan. 15. Heard to-day of the death of dear, *dear* Bishop Cobbs. Gone to be with Christ."

"Feb. 6. Learn that the State of Virginia has gone against secession, or precipitation."

"Feb. 9. In company with Rev. Dr. Hines, deposit my vote for the Union candidates."

"March 5. Read an abstract of President Lincoln's Inaugural in to-day's papers. He expresses a determination to enforce the laws of the Union. An attempt to do this will probably be followed by civil war. May a gracious God overrule and govern all for the promotion of peace!"

"April 5. Wrote to the Secretary of the Union Society, New York, accepting the office of vice-president."

"April 27. Reports from every direction threaten war, and bring accounts of preparations for the coming conflict. *Deus misereat!*"

"May 10. Write a letter to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State. Read it to my friend Robert Brinkley, who approves of it highly, and asks for a copy to be sent to the 'Journal of Commerce,' New York."

"May 23. Send forth a Pastoral Letter recommending every Friday as a day of fasting and prayer, during the continuance of present troubles."

"May 28. Anniversary of my dearly beloved Sarah's death. O Lord, heal the wounds which Thy mercy and wisdom and love have concurred to make."

1862.

During a considerable portion of this year, Memphis, the home of the Bishop, was in the possession of the Federal army. He gratefully acknowledges the courtesy and kindness of the principal officers, and particularly of General Sherman.

"March 13. Went to see several of our sick and wounded soldiers, among whom I found two Federal soldiers. Conversed and read and prayed with them. Walked over a considerable part of the city to purchase oranges for them, but could get none."

"March 13. Heard to-day of the death of Bishop Meade. It was a painful shock, though not unexpected. He was a remarkable man; and few of his day have exerted a greater influence, and left a stronger impression of his spirit upon his generation. Like all men of great powers, he made warm friends, and powerful (I

should be sorry to say *enemies*, but rather) opponents. He was a fearless man for what he believed to be the truth, — frank, sincere, and sincerely pious."

"Dec. 10. After breakfast, walked to the office of the Provost-Marshal, who gave me a permit to visit the Confederate prisoners at all times. Went to the Irving Block prison, and found one (Crisp) very ill, too much so for me to converse with him; and another (Russell) with a sore throat and great hoarseness. Begged officer to remove Crisp to the hospital."

"Dec. 12. Visited a wounded man (Captain Jones of Texas) at the Overton Hospital, and gave him a Prayer-Book. Also visited the prisoners at the Irving Block, and was glad to find that Russell had obtained medicine for his throat and cough, and that Crisp had been taken to the hospital."

The last entry made in the Bishop's diary is the following: —

"From Dec. 21 to this date, Jan. 3, 1863, I have been too sick to note any thing in my diary. I desire to record here my sense of God's goodness to me during the past year. It has been a year of unusual sickness and suffering with me. Yet, amidst all my pains and trials, God has graciously supported and comforted me. He has protected me in my many journeyings. He has given me grace and favor in the eyes of the invaders of my country, and enabled me to be of some service to my fellow-men. For these and a thousand other favors, I desire to bless and praise His holy name for ever and ever."

"As time departs, salvation comes;
Each moment brings it near;
Then, welcome each declining day,
Welcome each closing year.

Not many years their course shall run,
Not many mornings rise,
Ere all its glories stand revealed
To our transported eyes."

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

Extracts from a letter of Mrs. Henrietta C. Tomes, daughter of Bishop Otey; addressed to the writer.

My Dear Bishop Green, — The earliest recollection I have of my dear father is associated with his frequent returns home after his many long, fatiguing, and perilous visitations to the South and West. He was then Missionary and Provisional Bishop of Arkansas, Mississippi, part of Louisiana and Florida, and the Indian Territory, besides having the care of his own Diocese. All these combined kept him from home the greater part of the year. During the short period he was with us, it was his delight to instruct and amuse his young children, who singly (or sometimes the three youngest at once) would mount his knee, by our winter fireside, while he would sing quaint old songs, some of them wild and weird in sound, startling us with the strange words, causing us to gaze at him with a feeling of awe and reverential curiosity. One song was especially deprecated by his youngest daughter, little Fanny, whose tender years, united to a frank and affectionate disposition, made her the darling of the household. She would turn hastily around, and give "papa" a hearty slap on the lips with her rosy little palm, a feat that he generally courted, and at which he was always much amused.

He was a most tender and loving father; and in his painful and protracted journeyings, although he grudged not the time and service devoted to the Lord, would often revert to these quiet domes-

tic scenes. In one of his earlier diaries I find such words as these: "Here am I, on the placid bosom of the Mississippi, every moment receding farther and farther from those whom I tenderly love. . . . How I would enjoy these scenes if I only had my wife and children with me, to expatiate in the pleasures which are almost tasteless without their presence!"

My dear father, like many persons of deep and tender feelings, was reserved in the expression of them, even in his own family. He did not often (except to the little ones) display his affection by caresses and words; but when he did endeavor to reveal his strong, deep, and tender affection, it was like the "fountains of the great deep broken up," and tears would choke his utterance. . . .

This little girl Fanny, whose bright, caressing nature, unchecked by the apparently grave aspect of my father, seemed to have twined herself around the very fibres of his heart. Often have I seen them together at twilight, her stature just reaching above his knee, walk up and down the long hall, and sing psalms and hymns together; or he would hear her repeat her little verses, learned to recite at school. . . . My father had a fine voice; and the soft, ringing, childish notes of little Fanny, mingled in unison with his own, was one of the sweetest sounds I have ever heard. Happy father and child, to be now united again forever!

He enjoyed, too, the society of his elder children, — one son and two daughters married, and Sarah, a blooming girl of sixteen summers, the pride of his heart. With what gladness he interested himself in her studies, and shared her youthful aspirations, lightening her labors by his superior knowledge and intelligence! He would accompany her in her songs on the harp, in the balmy summer evenings, in the vine-covered porch of our beloved home; and I can recall his figure well, as, leaning back in his chair after the songs were ended, he would delight to talk, and speculate on the wonders and beauty of the shining stars sparkling above, and patiently reply to the innumerable questions that wondering childhood asks.

His earnest manner in speaking often made him appear stern, but I can never remember his speaking harshly to us in all his life. On the contrary, whenever any disagreeable duty had to be per-

formed, his persuasive voice and manner made us feel proud to do it for "pa's sake:" *that* plea carried the day always. When he had occasion to use sterner measures, a single look of his deep, dark eye was enough to convince the boldest of us that he was in earnest. . . .

If there were illness in the family, no father could be more patient, tender, and unwearying. It was not his privilege to sit by the couch of his beloved Sarah: he arrived only a few moments before she breathed her last, — she with whom he had parted glowing with life, ardor, and beauty, now stretched pale and dying before him, — and only in time to catch the last fond, expiring glance of her eye, and hear her, in that last lucid interval, gasp out "Dear pa," while feebly feeling for his hand. The agony of that moment never passed from his mind, at home or abroad. . . .

In the last years of his life, he often spoke of his youth, — the scenes around his birth-place and old home; and would dwell with affectionate enthusiasm on his native mountains, especially the Peaks of Otter, a picture of which he always kept on the mantel of his library. He spoke of his keen susceptibility to religious impressions in those days, and "would have given any thing," he would often say, "to have had the advantages of careful, judicious training, and to have had the *love of God* held forth to him, instead of the *fear* of a great and terrible Jehovah." That feeling, combined with the natural fears inherent in some children, made the approach of a thunder-storm terrible to him. It was literally, to his sensitive and impressive organization, "the voice of God in the thunder." . . . His favorite sport was fishing in the blue mountain-streams around his home; and "happy and proud was I," he would say, "after fishing all day in the Big Otter, with some favorite book by me, to come home laden with a string of fine mountain-trout." . . .

The religious education of youth was always a subject of the greatest interest to my father, and during the whole of his ministry he endeavored to awake and keep alive an interest in establishing male and female schools. Tennessee, when he first came, was the home of the pioneer; and the rough and hardy backwoodsmen looked with contempt upon learning and refinement, especially as

connected with the Ministry of the Gospel. The services of the Church were something so strange to them, that I have often heard my father illustrate it by telling of the homely remark of some rude son of the wilderness: "Come, let's go and hear that man preach, and his wife jaw back at him;" alluding to the responses made by my mother, who was often the only person who could take part in our services. But these drawbacks, as we well know, could not deter my dear father. He taught during the week; and on Sunday preached, more than once after riding over rough roads through all kinds of weather. These labors told severely on his health. Horseback-riding was the only mode of travel in those primitive days; and, after riding all day, his stopping-place was often only a little tavern, which he would reach cold, wet, and hungry, and compelled to sit down to coarse, unwholesome food, which the stomach revolted at, but was obliged to be partaken in order to sustain him on his journeys. "Mullein-tea," for instance, does not sound very palatable. In his earlier diaries, I find such extracts as these, after riding all day: "Weather cold and windy, much distressed with toothache. Reach Bolivar a little after sundown; stop at the tavern, so weary I cannot dismount without assistance. After a sleepless and uncomfortable night, head aching badly, eyes sore, and every bone and muscle giving pain;" but must press on, and have service that day. Often his only comment, after his day's labor was ended, was, "Weary! weary! weary!" . . .

To his servants, my father was a kind and considerate master. Those born under his roof, he always baptized, and endeavored to bring them up in the fear of the Lord, having them taught the Church Catechism, and being very particular about their attendance at family worship morning and evening. Frequently he would explain the Scriptures, as he would read to them. . . .

In his last illness he was most patient, submissive, and gentle. It was truly touching, when his mind began to fail, to hear him humbly ask for any thing, saying, "If it is no trouble;" surrounded, though, by anxious friends, eager to obey his slightest glance. The last time but one that he partook of the Holy Sacrament, he requested the Minister to pause for a moment at the

words in the General Confession, "by *thought*, *word*, *and deed*," repeating them himself with marked earnestness and solemnity; and, on receiving the cup, held it a moment clasped in his trembling hands, and said, "I call you all present to witness that my only hope of salvation is through the blood of Jesus Christ." . . . During the last week of his illness, when his mind failed him, and he was almost insensible to what was going on around him, he would understand words and sentences of Scripture, while nothing else would attract his attention; and once, when we knelt in prayer at his bedside, he seemed unconscious, until the words, "Our Father," struck his attention; and he then joined with us in a low but distinct voice.

From Mrs. Eliza (or Donna) Compton, youngest daughter of the Bishop.

Dear Bishop Green, — I regret that in answer to your request I can do nothing more than to notice briefly some of those simple, obscure, yet endearing incidents of my father's ministry, little known save only to Him whose "eyelids try the children of men." . . . Like the "sower" in Holy Writ, he planted the seeds for a great educational and ministerial work in the pioneer States of Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, — seeds of which he saw only the sowing, but which, by the blessing of God, are now blooming, and dispensing their fruits through the land.

In Maury, Shelby, and Williamson Counties, of Tennessee, were settled many families from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina; worthy, excellent, and industrious people, but most of them Scotch-Irish, and by birth and early training inimical to our Church. They, however, soon learned to like and respect the young tutor, and he found many firm friends among them.

With the help of his fair-haired and courageous young wife, who had left her home in North Carolina to share his fortunes in the new country, he made himself a simple but happy home. Besides the occupations of teacher and pastor, he had the rude necessities of daily toil to encounter; for there was little done on the small farm where they lived, without his personal supervision,

and oftentimes the labor of his own hands. Like St. Paul, he "liked to be chargeable to no man." The same hand that during the day assisted his domestics in gathering in the winter stores, was in the evening employed with a rapid and vigorous pen in corresponding with the most distinguished minds of the day, on the highest and noblest themes for the enlightenment and improvement of humanity.

If we add to these the care of many schools and churches, and the unavoidable sorrows and troubles of the little parish, his immediate charge, we shall see how arduous were his duties ere yet had been thrust upon him the labor and responsibility of his maturer years, as Bishop of Tennessee, and Provisional Bishop of the adjacent States of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas." . . . He passed from one territory to another, not like the Highlander with fiery cross, speeding over valleys and mountains to rouse to war and bloodshed; but was no less ardent and intent in spreading abroad the knowledge of that cross which is the only beacon-light that can arouse the minds of the ignorant or apathetic from their slumbers, and lead them on to a higher life. He went from day to day baptizing, preaching, and confirming, in small stations far away, among Indians, and a rude soldiery in distant garrisons. Yet it is pleasing to reflect that in all his missions he met with many courteous and cultivated people, such as the officers of the United-States Army and their families, with whom were begun and continued very pleasant and life-long friendships. . . .

Though often sick and overcome by fatigue, he never failed to enjoy the terrible beauty of the swollen, rushing streams, the wide-spreading prairies, the dark and tangled swamps; and more than once we find him exclaiming, "Oh the mountains! the blue, blue mountains! how they remind me of my own, my native State, my dearly loved Virginia! . . .

Such was the tenor of my father's life for many years. Besides the care of his own Diocese, he paid annual visitations to three neighboring States, until the gradual growth of the Church within their borders enabled them as Dioceses to provide Chief Shepherds for themselves. During the time of these Southern visitations, he formed many of the noblest and truest friendships; finding in

many places a generous and ready help, and meeting at all times with the most cordial and bountiful hospitality.

The following short extract is from a letter of Mrs. Mary F. Govan, another daughter of the Bishop: —

The great reverence and love which we felt for our dear father could hardly be surpassed in any other family. I can remember him at all times full of patience, affection, and forbearance towards each one of us. Among the last acts of his life, he called me to his bedside, and made me kneel, pronouncing a blessing upon me, which, through God's mercy, has followed me all the days of my life.

Extracts from a Letter of Rev. Thomas W. Humes, D.D., an esteemed Presbyter of Bishop Otey, and long on terms of affection and intimacy with him.

In his natural constitution, Bishop Otey was built up to be one of the superior men of his day and generation. His personal presence, when in his prime, was both impressive and attractive. Tall, strong, well-formed, having a complexion in which the red harmoniously commingled with the white, dark and expressive eyes, coal-black hair, and unstudied bearing and manners, it seemed that

> "The elements were
> So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, *This is a man!*"

The imagination of the youthful observer might be excused for finding in him the resemblance to its ideal of a great chieftain. And, indeed, as a natural man, he was evidently born to command. . . . He was once heard himself to say, that, if he had not become a Christian Minister, he would have been a soldier. Happily the grace of God, through faith in "the Captain-General of our salvation," turned his combative, heroic qualities to a higher and nobler warfare than one of flesh and blood. . . .

The Bishop was scrupulous in adhering to the prescribed forms

as well as doctrines of the Church; but was not afraid to depart from them when the occasion seemed to justify it, — as the following will show. He was once about to administer Confirmation to the wife of an aged General, at an open-air meeting of the people of the country, in the woods of Arkansas. He had before conversed, concerning the faith in Christ, with the veteran officer; who stood alone in the congregation when his wife left his side, and went forward to receive "the laying-on of hands." "General C.," the Bishop called aloud, "you have been a good soldier of your country: now show yourself a good soldier of Jesus Christ." With tears streaming down his cheeks, the General obeyed the call, went forward, was confirmed, and ever afterwards until his death led a consistent Christian life. . . .

In other respects than physically, Bishop Otey was one of Nature's noblemen. His vigorous and active mind had been so disciplined and informed, that it performed its assigned work with ease and efficiency. His heart, full of kindness and good-will to all men, throbbed quickly and warmly in response to just and generous sentiments and influences. His conscience spoke to him, not only with authority, but with a power that he was ever ready to acknowledge. And his will, when once he was convinced as to the line of his duty, had the fibre of iron and the tenacity of the magnet. Yet, grand as he was in his robust manhood, his guilelessness was that of a little child. Sincerity and simplicity were marked traits of his character. . . .

As a preacher, Bishop Otey had marked ability. His personal presence could not fail to give some weight and efficiency to his discourse; but the discourse, by virtue of its own merits, scarcely needed such aid. The character of his sermons was not so persuasive as edifying. . . . He stuck closely to his subject, — turning it over and over, presenting it in various lights, and hammering on its different sides, so that the listener might see it in its full and proper form and use. To win men to Christ, and to build them up in Christ, was his chief aim and endeavor.

Bishop Otey called himself simply a Churchman, after the pattern of the Prayer-Book, irrespective of party lines and contentions. The emotional, sympathetic element in his nature was very

strong; but his reason was at the same time calmly enthroned; and to its decisions he brought the impulses which spring from the feelings. He therefore cherished a spirit of moderation, unfriendly to extreme views and measures. He stoutly advocated his deliberate opinions concerning the Scriptural Constitution and Apostolic Ministry of the visible Church; but he respected, and forebore with, his brethren whose opinions on those subjects were less elevated and stringent than his own. He deplored the bodily disintegration of the Church, — the divisions into numerous sects or denominations of Christian people; . . . and, having in his heart brotherly affection for all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, he labored upon opportunity for the healing of those divisions. But the unity for which he prayed and sought was not of the type which Rome pretentiously presents, and to which she deceivingly invites. Being Evangelical and a Churchman, he was also a most decided Protestant. To the principles and doctrines of the English Reformation, as maintained by Latimer, Ridley, and Jewell, he adhered with firmness and even jealousy. Any attempt to teach the false doctrines of the Church of Rome, by word or symbol, met with his marked displeasure and hostility.

He loved the Bible, studied it thoughtfully, to the end of understanding it, and had an accurate and extensive knowledge of its contents. A young man, on becoming a Candidate for Deacons' Orders, asked him, "What shall I study?" The answer was, "Study the Bible." . . .

His rich and fruitful experience of the life of God in the soul was not a subject with him of frequent conversation, nor with more than a few friends. Others learned of the things that occurred in the silent chambers of his heart, not from his lips, but from his life and walk. His strong, prevailing desire was after holiness. It was, that God would sanctify him, body, soul and spirit. . . .

There was one Christian virtue more deeply wrought into his character than many observers supposed. It was seen of God, rather than of men. His humility, like his guilelessness, was that of a little child. Among his fellow-men, he bore himself with princely dignity and courage. But he was "lowly in his own

eyes." To instruction from others' lips, he had an open ear and mind, and was not ashamed, figuratively, to sit at the feet of one younger than himself in years, subordinate in position, and unworthy of such honor. . . .

In the last decade of his life, his domestic afflictions were serious and distressing. He felt them keenly, for he had an inexpressible tenderness of heart. But they were instrumental in bringing him nearer to the Lord, by faith, and, through the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit, increasing him in holiness and patience, and so in "meekness for the inheritance of the saints in light."

Shortly after the decease of his wife in the summer of 1861, he wrote to me as follows: —

BEERSHEBA SPRINGS, July 2, 1861.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER HUMES, — Yours of the 24th ult. reached me last evening, forwarded from Memphis. I thank you most sincerely for the many suggestions of comfort which it offers. Mine is a bereavement which you have experienced, and can therefore sympathize with one thus called to suffer. I know and strive to realize the full extent of the duty which this painful correction was doubtless intended to teach *me specially*, whatever purpose it was intended to serve in reference to others. I know that in very faithfulness the Lord has caused me to be troubled. . . . Truly do you say that the school of Christ is the school of affliction, and we may thankfully submit to learn, if we can but clearly comprehend the lesson taught. But to do this, we must in a sense be *made over* again. As some old writer says, "One creation does not serve our turn." God must re-create us, and form us anew. Well do I remember years ago how strangely such sentiments fell upon my spiritual hearing; my ear then just beginning to listen to such instruction, and, alas! even yet dull to hear and to learn. I used to think with myself, that I lacked proofs of my adoption into the family of God, because I had then seen no affliction. . . . And now the Lord has not left me without witness! Brothers and sisters have gone! children that I loved too tenderly have gone; brethren dear to me have gone; father and mother gone; and now my beloved wife, — part of myself, — the compan-

ion of life's joys and sorrows for forty years, gone! My hearth-stone is cold and cheerless, the light in my dwelling put out in obscure darkness; and I am left desolate "as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers." . . . Have I not had enough, my dear brother? and must I not be the most hardened and stupid of all those who profess to serve God in the Ministry of the Church, if I fail to learn the lessons which these sore and repeated chastisements were intended to teach me? May God, the blessed Comforter, teach me, enlighten me, dwell in me, and sanctify me wholly, — soul, body, and spirit! But ah! how often have I uttered this prayer, and yet how reluctant still to be taught, and to lie passive as the clay in the potter's hands! Well, we have the assurance of God's Word, that He will not forsake His people: and our wretchedness, our weakness and blindness, may serve as a plea, through Christ, to move His pity and gain His help. . . .

To the same Presbyter he wrote from Beersheba, Sept. 18, 1861: —

"My daughter will take control of my household matters; and I look forward with pleasing hope, 'if it be God's will,' to devote the brief remnant of life more fully and entirely to His service than I have ever yet been able to do."

But, alas! the remnant of that life on earth was very short. The subsequent year, he was called away from the midst of man's commotions and strife, to be with that God in whose presence is life, and at whose right hand are pleasures forever more.

T. W. HUMES.

From the Rev. George C. Harris, D.D.

It was during the last five years of Bishop Otey's life, that I came to know him well. In previous years I had often seen him, and felt the power of his magnificent presence; but I was at a distance from him, and known to him but slightly. When, however, in the providence of God I came under his care as a young Deacon, I did not fail to discover, even if I did not then appreciate as now, the paternal tenderness of his loving heart. Familiarity with him heightened the sense of his greatness, while it revealed

the strong root out of which it grew, — forgetfulness of self in the constant recollection of God and men.

As a scholar and preacher, Bishop Otey stood — as also he did in physical stature — head and shoulders above his Clergy. Ability to execute, and discernment to direct and counsel wisely, were, in my judgment, his distinguishing characteristics. In this I would not be understood as referring to what is called administrative ability. Many a weaker Bishop has administered his Diocese with more success, as that word goes. This kind of ability is a mere business quality, such as may be found in counting-houses the world over. But to be able to direct and counsel men to do the right thing because it is right, on a distinctly perceived theory of Christian philosophy, regardless of present results, — this is a different and a larger faculty.

Another distinguishing feature of Bishop Otey's character was the perfect sympathy he had acquired with every form of human sorrow. Whoever knows of the many sorrowful passages of the Bishop's life will understand by what steps he had been led along towards this large development of the Divine love. In his Episcopate of nearly thirty years, one finds much of toil and hardship, and much also of sorrowful disappointment. And yet there were no dolorous chords in all his heart. Full of soberness and dignity he was, but full also of chastened brightness.

The fine black eye, with which it would seem he could look through a man, would sparkle with delight, and the whole strong face grow radiant, as, leaving graver duties, he took his full share of social converse.

More than twenty years he has been in Paradise. The great storm of '61–'65 bore him away from us, a victim of the civil war as truly as that other Bishop whose breast was visibly lacerated in the unequal conflict.

I have no authority to speak for the rest, but I do not doubt I voice a sentiment common to all the living of Bishop Otey's Clergy in saying he was a model man and a model Bishop.

The following letter is from Captain James S. Johnston of Church Hill, near Natchez, whose hospitable

doors were always open to welcome the Bishop on his annual visitations.

AUBURN HALL.

MY BELOVED AND VENERATED BISHOP,— . . . Most sincerely do I wish that I were competent to execute the task you ask me to undertake, in a manner worthy of the subject; but my crude and feeble pen is entirely inadequate to pourtray the character of one so exalted as our lamented friend the late Bishop of Tennessee.

Bishop Otey was a man to be pre-eminently loved, honored, and revered by his fellow-men; for he beautifully combined the masculine and forceful traits held in such high estimation by the world, with the softer and gentler graces of the humble-minded and devout Christian.

The personal qualities, which so inspired the admiration, and won the attachment of friends, were a sublime elevation of moral character, lifting him above every thing sensual and gross; an inflexible adherence to principle; a devotion to truth imparting to his every word the value of a pledge of honor; mildness and evenness of disposition; unaffected simplicity of manner; transparent purity of heart; feminine delicacy of thought, and chasteness of expression; a tender sympathy, responsive to every cry of distress; and a charity alive to every appeal of human want and suffering.

My recollections of this great and good man and revered prelate, in his prime, bring before my mental vision the image of a person of imposing stature, robust frame, and vigorous constitution, stately in presence, and dignified in address. In his large, well-filled proportions, he was a striking type of physical manhood. The vigor of his mind was in full keeping with the grandeur of his frame, its counterpart and equal. His intellect was cast in a capacious mould, the jewel being worthy of the casket that contained it. Equally vigorous in mind and body, he afforded an apt illustration of the classic conception, *mens sana in corpore sano*. . . .

The Oteys of Bedford, as a family, were remarkable for their prowess, no less than for their high and chivalrous spirit. Some of them were marvellous specimens of muscular development and athletic power. Fortitude and physical strength came to the Bishop,

therefore, as a legacy from ancestors of semi-gigantic size. When a young man, before taking Orders in the Church, he was once a passenger on a steamboat, with two ladies committed to his care. While promenading the deck, they were insulted in his presence by a rowdy. The insult was promptly resented by their chivalrous escort, who by a single trip-hammer blow of his clinched fist felled the ruffian to the floor; who, on rising to his feet, was glad to get off by a humble apology.

The birthplace of Bishop Otey was in a region almost unrivalled for the grandeur and beauty of its scenery. He was born and reared under the very shadow of the historic Peaks of Otter, in the glorious old Commonwealth of Virginia, the mother of States and statesmen. . . . From the same interesting locality, beneath the overshadowing brow of those lofty and picturesque Peaks, came also, as Bishop Otey's contemporary, and dear and devoted friend, the saintly Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, first Bishop of Alabama; who, in habitual meekness, and humility of spirit, seemed to bear to Bishop Otey the relation we may suppose to have been borne by the "beloved disciple" to the sturdier and more aggressive Peter." . . .

My acquaintance with the Bishop commenced at the time of his election as Provisional Bishop of Mississippi. . . . Once a year, at least, he came to look after the spiritual interests of the Church thus confided to his care. At such periods, his paternal visits to our infant and often destitute parishes were like refreshing showers falling upon a parched and thirsty land. Nothing could exceed the cordial and enthusiastic greeting extended to him on these occasions, by old and young, high and low, rich and poor. Not the least of his many social charms was a benign and captivating expression of *goodness*, that habitually lighted up his manly features, and beamed like mellow sunshine from his benevolent face. His sweet and gracious smile was a reflex of the goodness that comes from the heart, and which never fails to win and please, because it does come straightway from the heart. . . .

On the occasion of his visits, — too few and far between, — Bishop Otey's great and loving heart flowed out to his people in streams of generous and sympathizing love. Never, while mem-

ory lasts, can we forget the kindness and tenderness of his care, or the gentleness of his ministrations, as he passed in and out amongst us, faithfully delivering the message of redemption through the blood of a crucified Saviour, breaking to us the bread of life, baptizing our little ones, laying hands on those of riper years, binding us in the bonds of holy wedlock, burying our dead, and pointing the living to the way of eternal life.

His sermons were, for the most part, of a didactic nature, and in no degree calculated for sensational effect, though always delivered with energy and warmth. He was thoughtful in the choice of his subjects, and the selection of appropriate texts, and rarely preached without careful and diligent preparation. . . . No preacher ever spoke with a deeper conviction of the truth and importance of the message he was commissioned to bear. This gave great emphasis and impressive earnestness to all his utterances from the sacred desk. His style, though forcible, and at times eloquent, was in no sense rhetorical. He cared less than any man for the mere tinsel of oratory or the flowers of fancy. He was a stranger to metaphor, and had the merest minimum of poetry in his nature. . . . He loved the truth, and was ambitious above all things to make it clear to the understandings of men. His undeniable strength and power lay in a sound judgment, good natural sense, perfect purity of purpose, a practical knowledge of men, and of the best and surest methods of reaching their consciences, and dealing with their obstinacy and pride. . . .

Very few of Bishop Otey's sermons, valuable and instructive as they were, ever found their way into print. His celebrated discourses on "The Threefold Ministry" were preached and published while he was Provisional Bishop in this Diocese. They taught a multitude of professing Churchmen here, much they had never known before. . . . They started the Church in Mississippi in the right direction. And we are indebted to you, Right Reverend Father, for a further faithful continuance of the good work which has proved so fruitful in its enlightening and beneficent results.

What more, my dear Bishop, can I say within the limits of the space assigned me? I am afraid I have already transcended those

limits. I have written '*calamo currente.*' Should you find any thing to suit you in these hurried lines, make such use of them as you choose, and discard any or all that does not fall within the scope of your design.

With sentiments of affectionate esteem and love, I remain, my dear Bishop,

Your Son in Christ,

JAS. S. JOHNSTON.

The following is from the Rev. William C. Gray, D.D., one of the Bishop's Presbyters: —

If I were to attempt to give an estimate of Bishop Otey's character in few words, I would say that his greatness impressed me in a *threefold* manner. He was powerful physically, intellectually, and spiritually.

He was of commanding stature, six feet four inches in height, broad-shouldered and well proportioned; with an expression of countenance, and a dark, piercing eye, which, wherever he went, proclaimed him a born leader of men.

Intellectually he *towered* in quite as striking a manner among men as he did physically. . . . His polished language and impressive oratory were never used as the vehicle of "airy nothings," but were ever setting forth profound thoughts, important truths, and principles of a far-reaching and undying character.

But above all, and giving the highest touch of grandeur to this rare development of a human trinity, was his spiritual attainment. Strong as a lion, he was gentle as a lamb. Skilled in learning, ancient and modern, and "mighty in the Scriptures," he was the genial companion of his humblest Deacon, or poorest and most obscure communicant. He combined the dignity of an emperor with the simplicity of a little child. He could touch the hearts of others, because he spoke out of the fulness of his own; for oftentimes, when pleading with sinful men to be "reconciled to God," the tears on his own cheeks would testify how deeply he felt what he strove to impress upon others.

To his Clergy and Postulants, he was ever a sympathizing and

loving father; accessible at all times, and ever manifesting a personal interest in the welfare of each.

While stern and uncompromising in rebuking sin, and firm and fearless in maintaining the *principles* of the Church, he found his most congenial work in showing forth, both by precept and example, in public and in private, the results of that all-controlling apostolic principle, "the constraining love of Christ." . . .

From the very inception of his work in Tennessee, he saw that the great demand of the age was for a system of education looking to the simultaneous and equal development of *body*, *mind*, and *spirit*.

This was undoubtedly the ever-present and prevailing thought of his great mind during his Ministry of thirty-six years. . . . His interest in, and efforts for, the cause of Christian female education, are well known; and his efforts to lay foundations for the deepest, broadest, and highest culture for our boys and young men, are no less noteworthy. He began with this idea at Franklin, continued it at Columbia, set it forth before his Conventions, before representative people of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and before the representative Bishops, Presbyters, and laymen of the entire country, assembled in Richmond, Va., in 1859. . . .

Without doubt, in his early begun and constantly renewed plans for a Classical and Theological Seminary, to be founded and maintained by the States of the South-West, is to be found the germ of that Institution even now blessing our South, and pregnant with foreshadowed blessings for the entire country, — the UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

The great Bishop passed away from earth in the midst of the "clouds and darkness" of the late civil war, which, if it did not break his heart, undoubtedly shortened his life. He deplored its beginnings. He prayed and he hoped, even against hope, that it might be averted; but in vain. . . .

It was my privilege to be with my beloved Bishop in his last illness. In consequence of the war which was still raging around us, none of his brother Bishops could be with him; but a few of his faithful Priests were at his bedside. However *thick* the darkness outside, the dying Christian "had *light* in his dwelling." I

stood by his bedside, while he spake to us words of heavenly wisdom, and almost enabled us to look upon the glories of that region into which he was just entering. And when he ceased speaking, and angels were bearing his spirit away to the Paradise of God, it was my privilege to close his eyes in their last sleep.

W. C. GRAY.

ADDRESSES AND SERMONS.

ADDRESS.[1]

It is the distinguishing and peculiar glory of Christianity, that she has ever been first and foremost in works of benevolence. The charity which she inculcates embraces in its outgoings the whole race of mankind. Wherever misery has found an abode, or misfortune a dwelling-place, there is the sphere of her benign operations; and wherever her footsteps can be traced through this wide world of sin, there are to be seen in the light which she sheds over ignorance, in the riches which she gives for poverty, in the peace and happiness which she diffuses around with liberal hand, the impressive proofs of her kindredship with heaven. The institutions which Christian benevolence has originated, and brought into successful operation, are as various in their objects as are the forms of human misery; and it is a fact to which we too seldom revert, that, previous to the introduction of the Gospel into our world, not a single asylum or hospital for the afflicted or homeless was to be found on the face of the earth. It is to Christianity that we are indebted for the establishment of all those institutions in which the sick, the poor, the widow, and the orphan now find that sympathy for their misery, and that provision for their wants, which it is the joy of the compassionate to furnish.

In regard to the institution which your sense of duty has here founded, and which your charity has from year to year cherished,

[1] Delivered by the Right Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tennessee, at the Annual Meeting of the Orphan Society of Natchez, Miss., 1836.

it is perhaps sufficient to say, that it is, in its character and objects, essentially Christian. The limits of this address do not allow me, nor perhaps is it at all requisite, to attempt an enumeration of all the beneficial results which may flow from its operations. These results are not to be confined to the boundaries of time and sense: they are to be looked for in eternity. Yet it may be profitable to us, perhaps, to contemplate them as they are developed to human observation here, in this appropriate and appointed field of human effort and trial; and so they shall surely be estimated in a brighter but better and purer world.

What, then, is the object of this institution? It is to clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and provide a shelter for the houseless. It is to insure protection in this world to those whom God, in his wise providence, has deprived of their natural guardians. And does not such an object commend itself at once, and without argument, to the Christian regards of every feeling and benevolent heart? With whom can we or shall we sympathize, if not those whose very helplessness furnishes an argument for care and protection, whose dangers call so loudly for a defence and shield, and whose bereavement appeals so forcibly to every affection in the parental bosom? Cast one of these helpless children, now an inmate of this dwelling, out upon the uncertain care and the precarious support which the world will furnish, and trace in imagination, as you may with the unerring certainty of truth, her wayward steps through the snares and dangers of life. Is she hungry? She has to beg bread. Is she in want of clothing? She has to beg it. Is she without a shelter? She has to beg a lodging-place. And now mark the hardening process that is going on among her young and budding affections, while she is thus driven to seek for the daily necessaries of life. The natural sensibility of her soul is blunted; and in a little time that modesty which led her at first to ask for bread or shelter with feminine timidity of bashfulness, is succeeded by a boldness of manner, and a masculine fearlessness of bearing, which, while it shocks the feelings of the more refined, at the same time invites a refusal to the demands of poverty. The next step is naturally, if not inevitably, to the haunts of licentiousness and crime. Her associates are the inmates of dark and dread-

ful abodes, who will patronize and encourage every step she makes in iniquity, until their wretched victim, made as much the child of hell as themselves, is lost to herself and the world, and puts in practice against others the very arts by which she herself has been irretrievably ruined. But the loss of character and reputation is not the last or only ruin in which she is involved. By wicked works she is alienated from God; and, in casting away all regard for the opinion of the world, she has also thrown off all fear of God. She plunges into all the excesses of the most infamous dissipation, the most degrading brutality; lives without restraint, dies without hope; and reaps the fruits of her own doings in the despair of hell, and in the agony of the second death! Does one imagine that this is a fanciful or overwrought picture? Let him examine the reports of benevolent societies, established in many of our large and populous towns for the purpose of meliorating the condition of the friendless and the offcast, and he will see that I have but barely touched the outlines of a picture too revolting in its features to be delineated.

To guard against results so shocking to the better feelings of our nature, seems to be an obvious dictate of humanity. The case which I have supposed has been invested with the sad realities of truth in too many instances; and the number of these might have been increased within the sphere of your own personal knowledge and observation, but for the timely and sufficient remedy provided against their occurrence, by the establishment of this humane and charitable institution. Here the most forlorn and friendless of our race, the orphan, may not only find food and raiment, but also that moral culture, that religious instruction, which will fit her for the duties of life, and prepare her for the awakening solemnities of death and judgment. Here she will find those who will supply to her the place of parents, and present to her objects around which her young affections may twine, and be trained to sentiments of piety and virtue. And is there a single contributor to the support of this institution, but must feel a glow of gratification in contemplating such a result as the fruit of her charity? When in future years she shall see one of these children discharging with honor the various duties of life; the centre perhaps of the best and most

tender affections of the human heart; illustrating in her practice the excellency and the beauty of those principles which have been inculcated under this humble roof; contributing to the happiness and well-being of the community; or raised by the providence of God to the highest station of responsibility which wealth or other accidental circumstances can impose, and still sustaining, with credit and fidelity, the multiplied relations that rank and influence create, — can she feel otherwise than thankful to God for the opportunity thus afforded her, of employing a pittance of that abundance which His goodness has given, to promote His honor and glory, and add to the well-being and felicity of His creatures? Nor are the effects of this charity limited, as I have already intimated, to this world. With God's blessing, the pious instructions here given, the religious impressions here made, may shape the future destiny of these children; may, at an early period of their history, lead their thoughts up to God; may stamp upon their young hearts abiding impressions of the excellency and glory of His character; and through successive contemplations of His power, goodness, and mercy, kindle a flame of devotion and love that can never be extinguished. What Christian but must desire and pray for such a consummation? Who that feels bound to his race by the sympathies of a common humanity, but must be willing to aid and foster an institution which contemplates such results? And yet with all the professed Christianity around us, and with all the fellow-feeling which distinguishing mercies and blessings, one would suppose, would keep alive and in active exercise among this favored people, I find, from the last report of this institution, that its treasury is nearly exhausted, and that its operations are crippled by its limited means. I find that its annual income from all sources is scarcely one-tenth of the probable amount which worldlings give to the theatre! This is an astounding fact; its annunciation should make the ears of the community tingle. It shows that something is radically wrong in practice, if not in principle, among us. It demonstrates, in terms that supersede argument, the necessity of deep reflection, of serious self-examination, with those who, in suffering an institution of the noblest charity thus to languish in their very presence, give occasion to fix upon their charac-

ter the charge that they are "lovers of pleasure more than the lovers of God."

Surely the simple statement of the fact adverted to is sufficient, without comment, to draw forth from the pious and benevolent such efforts as to do away at once and forever this reproach. I leave it, therefore, before you in its naked simplicity, persuaded that its mention needs not the accompaniment of any appeal to either the sense of duty, or the feelings of this community.

There is yet another aspect under which I wish to present the claims of this institution to your consideration. It is that your own personal interests are, in a measure, identified with the fostering of this charity. Not your interests in a worldly point of view, — though even these might be named as furnishing an argument, since no parent knows how soon his children may be left helpless orphans, — but I speak with a direct reference to your spiritual interests, to your growth in grace. It is the command of the inspired apostle, to add to your faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity. In proportion as you are diligent and faithful in the obedience which you render to this precept, you will doubtless grow in the Divine life. Now, it is of God's providence, that you have opportunity to exercise any of these Christian graces and virtues. If the opportunity were not vouchsafed and improved, you would lack so far the proper evidence of your Christian character. To make my meaning clear: if you had no occasion ever to forgive an injury or wrong, you could not know certainly that you possessed the grace of meekness. It is only by the exercise of our virtues, that we can be ascertained of their existence. And thus, if the providence of God did not throw in your way objects on which to exercise your benevolence and charity, you could not know that you had charity at all. But surely, my Christian friends, it is exceedingly desirable to your peace and comfort, to be assured that you stand complete in your character as disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus. For upon our character, as ascertained by our works, depends our approval or condemnation in the great day of eternity (Matt. xxv. 34, 46). Go forward, then, in your work and labor of love, animated by the ever-glowing conviction, that you are treading the

path of duty, high and solemn duty to God and man! encouraged by the assurance that the blessings of those ready to perish will be yours; that the testimony of an approving conscience will be yours; that the peace which smooths the bed of death will be yours; and that the approval of your heavenly Master and Almighty Judge will be yours, when an assembled universe shall stand at the bar of God.

THE DUTY OF MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL TO THEIR PEOPLE, CONSIDERED IN THEIR CIVIL RELATIONS.[1]

My Reverend Brethren, the Clergy of this Diocese: — The twenty-seventh Canon of the General Convention provides that each Bishop of the Church shall deliver, at least once in every three years, a CHARGE to the Clergy of his Diocese. The object of this provision is, doubtless, among other things, to assist the Ministry in the discharge of their very responsible duties, by pointing out the difficulties incident to their station, suggesting such remedies as have approved themselves to reflection and experience as adequate to their removal, and holding out encouragement to the faithful and zealous discharge of the solemnly undertaken obligations of the clerical office. These subjects have been made the topics of remark, in some measure, heretofore, in my Annual Addresses to the Conventions; and it is considered that the spirit of the Canons has been met in this way, although my observations made on such occasions have not assumed the formality and shape of a CHARGE.

The office of a Bishop, calling for a more extended view of the interests of our communion than pertains to the charge of a single Parish, and leading naturally to a comparison of the efficacy of the measures pursued in different parts of the country, and under varied circumstances, for the promotion of a common object, enables that officer to make suggestions, which in practice are most frequently found to be highly beneficial to both Ministers and people, and productive of happy effects by tending to strengthen the hands of the one class, and to encourage the hearts of the other. The opportunities which the Bishop enjoys from time to

[1] Set forth in a Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tennessee. Delivered in Christ Church, in the City of Nashville, during the session of the Convention, on Thursday, Oct. 11, 1837.

time for making a personal examination into the condition of each Parish, conjoined with the thoughtful and prayerful consideration which he is bound to bring to bear upon the interests of the whole Diocese, assist him to discover the dangers of his charge, and to adopt measures to meet them, or suggest plans for their avoidance. As the constituted temporal head of the family, he is bound, in providing for the welfare of the whole, to be watchful that no individual member thereof shall suffer from want of care or attention.

In all the various arrangements of civilized and Christianized society formed for general purposes, there is not perhaps a more interesting relation than that which the Church has established between a Bishop and his Diocese. This relationship gathers its importance from the nature and value of the interests comprised in its formation; while the connection itself, in its points of resemblance to paternal superintendence, is associated in thought and contemplation with the kindest and purest affections of our nature. As a father feels for his children, and with tender solicitude watches over their well-being, so should a Bishop feel and act towards his brethren in the Ministry, to whom the Lord hath made him chief servant in the Church. As children should reciprocate the watchful care and supervision of a parent, by dutiful respect and filial obedience, so should "Sons in the Gospel" show respectful regard to that office, and just and ready submission to that authority which themselves have voluntarily agreed to receive and acknowledge in the Church. It is under this aspect that I love to contemplate that office and its relations, the burthen of which, in the providence of God, has been laid upon me; and it is with the feelings which such a view of its character and responsibilities naturally inspires, not unaccompanied with a deep sense of weakness felt and freely acknowledged in the attempted discharge of its duties hitherto, that I now proceed to deliver my first CHARGE to the assembled Clergy of this Diocese.

So much has been written and published, my brethren, upon the duties of the clerical office, that it seems difficult to select any topic, falling properly within purview of my present business, upon which you have not been already furnished with ample dis-

cussion. The ground of remark is still further narrowed by the very liberal provision which the Church has made in her formularies of public worship and their accompanying rubrics, to serve as a directory and guide to every Clergyman in conducting the public devotions of the congregation, in the administration of the sacraments, and in the performance of other holy offices of religion, which sickness and other adventitious circumstances may sometimes require to be more private. The obligation to comply with the directions which the Church in her wisdom has prescribed in all these cases, is so plain and obvious, that it would appear almost superfluous to use argument or exhortation in the premises. It is scarcely to be supposed that any Clergyman can be so forgetful of the solemnity and binding force of his ordination vows, as to use any other forms in the discharge of his official duties as a Minister of the Gospel, than those which the authority of the Church has appointed and established. He who can so forget himself is beyond the reach of argument or exhortation. All considerations grounded upon the recorded results of sober experience, or drawn from the propriety of uniform practice among the members of the same "household of faith," united in the same bonds of fellowship, and cherishing a common hope through the same Lord, are lost upon him who will venture for the sake of the supposed expediency, or in the spirit of compromise, to set at naught the authority of the Church, and trample upon her regulations. By dishonoring the Liturgy, in the substitution of his own extemporaneous effusions, he virtually arrogates to himself a wisdom which claims submission from the united wisdom of the Church. For, let it be remembered that our public formularies of worship, administration of the sacraments, and other holy offices of religion, have received the sanction of the assembled wisdom and piety of the Church, and are vested with all the authority which legislative enactment can throw around them. It should never be forgotten by us, my brethren, that a minister of religion is the accredited agent of the Church, appointed for the performance of duties specified in the forms of his ordination, mediately responsible to the body which clothes him with authority to act, and ultimately amenable to the Lord of Heaven for his actions, and the

manner of their performance. His position is therefore analogous to that of a public officer of the civil government. And as, in this case, the authorized agent of the public is bound to act according to his instructions, and after prescribed forms; so, in the case of a Minister of the Church, he is under as solemn obligations as man can realize, in official investiture with authority, to act agreeably to the directions which he received and promised to follow when he was commissioned.

The principle involved in the issue to be made up on this point is far more important in its practical uses, and far more extensive in its connections, than is apparent to slight or partial reflection. It is intimately associated with what I design to be the chief subject of this address; namely, *the duty of Ministers of the Gospel to their people, considered in their civil relations;* and if I can succeed in presenting it to your minds in such a shape and in such a light as to gain for it that consideration, which, in the deliberate conviction of my own judgment, its intrinsic importance merits, I think I shall have pointed out to you one of the chief obstacles which, in this country, oppose the prevalence of religion, and operate as a mighty hindrance to our efforts to promote the peace and happiness of our fellow-men. To arrive at a proper understanding of the reasons of that indifference to the preaching of the Gospel, and the grounds of that indirect opposition which we not unfrequently experience in our efforts to bring people under the influence of Christian principles, we must look a little into the character of our civil institutions, and especially at the circumstances of our population in the actual means and opportunities presented for moral and intellectual culture. These things unquestionably give an impress and a shape to the character of a people. The institutions of a country, and the manners of its inhabitants, the true index of their principles, certainly exercise a reflex influence, one upon the other. If improvement in all that tends to the melioration and exaltation of man's character as a rational and accountable creature be not on the advance, we may be certain that the virtues of society are in progress towards decay, and that civil institutions partake of the deterioration. In this respect a community cannot remain stationary. Unequal and unjust laws,

or the irregular and oppressive execution of good laws, naturally tend to corruption of morals; while corruption of morals introduces inevitably every evil work in the administration of government. It therefore becomes a subject of momentous interest, to inquire how far the prevalence of virtuous morals is connected with a sound state of the body politic, and how far virtuous and pure morality is dependent upon a proper understanding and practice of the duties of Christianity. If it can be shown that good government — by which I mean wholesome, equal, and just laws, faithfully, vigorously, and wisely administered — and healthy morals and sound religion are intimately associated, and in fact inseparably in the present state of the world, then we shall succeed in removing a prejudice exceedingly common, I fear, in this country; viz., that the recognition of religious obligation in the conduct has nothing to do with securing the safety of civil liberty; and we shall, instead of having this unreasonable prejudice to encounter, excite in every man's bosom a personal interest in behalf of Christian principles and practice. I say a *personal* interest; because every citizen of this government feels that he has a direct concern in the institutions of the country, and that their preservation in their integrity and purity depends, to the full measure of his influence, upon his conduct. The great fabric of our liberties is based upon the will of the people: its supports are universally held to be virtue and intelligence. Individual influence, therefore, is not to be estimated by the zeal with which the measures of a party are prosecuted, but by uprightness, honesty, and propriety of behavior, in all the relations of life. The moment that spirit is excited and called into action which triumphs in the issue of a political contest, or which exults in creating embarrassment to those in the ascendant, the same moment is taken away one of the main pillars which give stability to free government. Whenever the affairs of a people have reached such a crisis, the history of nations proves that the sacrifice of liberty soon follows to consummate their ruin.

The structure of our government is peculiar in this, that it makes no provision by law for the support of religion. It was doubtless wise in our forefathers to dissever the unnatural bond

between Church and State, — to dissolve a connection which tended to degrade the former, and encumber the latter. All other nations have laid religion at the basis of their civil institutions, and, by legislative enactments, incorporated it with their laws. The framers of our Constitution did not, because they would have found it impossible to reconcile the different interests and to adjust the conflicting claims of various denominations of the Christian name; because they believed it to be wrong in principle, and injurious to piety in practice; and especially because they were persuaded that Christianity was most successful and most prosperous when it received protection only from the secular arm, and was left to the fostering care of Heaven. But, because this was done, many have taken up the erroneous and monstrous idea, that Christianity was virtually proscribed as a dangerous thing by those venerable men of the Revolution, who achieved our independence, and framed for us our present Constitution. And it is lamentable to think that men of name and character in this nation, and in our own State, have given sanction to this ruinous delusion, — *delusion*, I say, destructive to man's best interests in his social relations, and blighting to the fairest and brightest hopes of the future. Our forefathers were men of too much wisdom, and of too much piety, ever to have entertained any such idea. It is a libel upon their character to say they did. Instead of cherishing any unfriendly feeling against religion, instead of meaning to proscribe it, they intended to show their estimation of its worth by leaving it untouched and untrammelled with the people, the source of all legitimate authority and power in the nation: they took it for granted, that its worth would never be questioned by posterity. It had given decisive evidence of its value in the perilous hour of conflict; and they never contemplated a period in the future history of the Republic which they had founded, when religion would not be felt in its sacred influence throughout all our borders. They expected that temples for the worship of the living God would crown all our hills, and adorn all our towns and cities, and the song of praise be raised from all our valleys. That their anticipations have not yet been realized, is owing at least in part to the fact that infidel principles have been transplanted into this

land of freedom, and taken root in a soil watered by the tears and enriched by the blood of some of the purest patriots that ever contended for liberty, of some of the most pious men that ever bowed the knee "at the name of Jesus." To prove that I am drawing no fanciful picture of the real sentiments which animated the breasts of the patriots of the Revolution, I need only refer to the many resolutions of the Continental Congress, recommending days of fasting, humiliation, and prayer to God for his protection and care over the struggling Colonies. I need only call attention to the fact that days of thanksgiving were set apart by the same authority, and by General Washington in his general orders, calling upon the people and the army to give a public expression of gratitude to God for victory achieved by our arms. Resolutions of the kind referred to are found spread upon the journals of Congress, recording its proceedings through each year, from the 12th June, 1775, to the 18th October, 1783. And is it to be supposed that the men who by public and solemn acts thus distinctly recognized the value of Christian principles and the obligation of Christian duty, did afterwards, in giving a Constitution to their countrymen and to their children, for whose freedom they toiled and fought and suffered for eight years, actually mean to set a brand upon religion as a dangerous thing? The fact is as destitute of proof as it is dishonorable in imputation. By an appeal tc the public and recorded acts of the men whose memory is most fondly cherished by Americans, we sweep away at once the impression that infidelity desires to make upon the public mind, that Christianity is of no worth to us as a people, and that it deserves neither their favorable regard nor their patronage.

It must, however, be conceded, — and painful indeed is the truth that calls for the concession, — that in our day the conduct and avowedly infidel character of many of our public men go very far towards giving encouragement to the notion that Christianity is in no way necessary to national prosperity and happiness. To be known as a Christian, is coming fast to be considered as a positive disadvantage to him who aspires after popular favor. Not that we have become yet so corrupt as to consider a candidate for political power less trustworthy because he is a Christian ; but his profession

of that name operates to his prejudice, because he cannot consistently practise the arts which party organization has introduced as necessary instruments of success. And herein we see the workings of a wide-spread delusion that is sapping silently the very foundations of public virtue; namely, that the same act performed by a Christian, and by one who makes no pretensions to that name, is criminal in the former and innocent in the latter. Thus the distinctions between right and wrong, laid in the principles of eternal truth and justice, are confounded, and made to depend upon the ever-varying standard of man's professed character. That which is wrong cannot be innocently done by any accountable creature; and invincible ignorance can alone serve to palliate, not excuse it. Inattention to this principle, even by those who are bound by their profession to recognize its obligation in practice, has contributed much to give the complexion of infidelity to our national character. Duelling, Sabbath-breaking, profanity, drunkenness, and other immoralities over the name of which modesty draws a veil, are not ordinarily considered as disqualifications, in public estimation, for the highest offices of honor and trust in the gift of a free people. In consequence hereof, very few of those who figure in the halls of legislation, or sit in high stations of official trust, manifest by their practice that they count the religion of Christ as of any worth. If the mischief ended with themselves, it would be more endurable; but the pernicious influence of their example descends upon those through whose favor they reach that elevation which gives them consequence. We know that the vast majority of mankind are swayed by the example of those around them, who are looked up to with deference on account of their talents, or other circumstances which give them power and weight of character in the community. And in this way, the men of note among us are *inconsiderately*, as we are in charity bound to suppose, aiming a mortal stab at the very heart of civil and religious freedom. The conservative principles of our institutions are overlooked by them in their struggle for power. These principles — we cannot too often repeat it — are intelligence and virtue, regulated by the precepts of Christianity. If they are practically disregarded in one case, what surety have we that they will not be in

every instance in which there is a sufficient motive or temptation to do it? In a country where the people themselves are the acknowledged source of all legitimate power, they must be informed in order to the salutary exercise of that power. For this information, the majority of men rely upon the statements of their public servants, upon the accounts which they give of their own conduct and of the public affairs. Under this aspect, public office assumes a degree of tremendous responsibility, and as such should be received with modesty and diffidence, rather than sought after with eagerness, by persons duly sensible of its importance and difficulty. If it were uniformly conferred upon men fully alive to the magnitude of the interests confided to their management, the people would have some guaranty for being correctly informed and advised in regard to their interests. But it will never be so conferred under a party organization in which personal elevation, and not the public weal, is the great object contemplated. The elective franchise is then prostituted to the most unworthy purposes; and success in political life made dependent upon misleading the people, and giving false representations of the objects of parties and of the measures of government. In consequence hereof, men of abandoned character, and whose private life is stained by the commission of the grossest enormities, are sometimes elevated to stations of the highest dignity and trust. The question naturally arises, Why are these things so? The answer is to be found in the fact, that the opinion is extensively current, that the principles of Christianity are designed to exercise some control over the thoughts and conduct of man in the more private relations of life, but that all its influences are to be carefully shut out when he comes to act in the capacity of a citizen of the commonwealth. The Constitution has said nothing about religion, except that none shall ever be established by law; and therefore a man may act on an election-day as if there were no God, and no accountability to law human or divine; and therefore, carrying out the inferences following from the premises taken, no oath ought to be administered in courts of justice, and no man punished for perjury. It is a trite saying, that the best of Heaven's gifts are most liable to injury and abuse when brought into contact with the corrupt touch

of man's mortality. Such experience has shown to be the case with Christianity, Heaven's best gift to man. Such, many and by no means dubious indications lead us to fear, will prove to be the result in regard to that next to the most inestimable boon of God to man, — civil liberty.

So entirely has religion become disassociated in thought and practice from the every-day practice of life, that many, very many "who name the name of Christ," allow themselves in practices utterly repugnant to the precepts and spirit of the Gospel. They, for example, deem it no violation of Christian duty or obligation, to vilify and abuse political opponents, and to join in all the crimination and vituperation which the newspapers of the day are disgorging upon society in every quarter of the country. Men of all parties are engaged in this work of defamation. The obligations which a Christian profession imposes are thus practically dissevered from the duties of a citizen; and that which the Gospel pointedly condemns becomes, through corruption of moral sentiment, allowable in a partisan, because it is consecrated as a maxim of political wisdom. Licentiousness thus becomes the unnatural offspring of that freedom which is claimed in the charter of our liberties as God's gift and man's inalienable right. Religion is the fountain which feeds the stream of public morals; and if the fountain be impure, or cease to send forth its waters, or if they be diverted from their proper channels, moral disease and infection spread around, and cast the pall of death over all the public and private relations of life. It is under this view that I deem it especially the duty of the Clergy to inculcate the binding force of Christian obligation upon the people of their charge, in the connection which their profession as Christians has with their personal deportment and conduct as citizens; and to show to all men, as occasion may serve, that Christianity understood in its integrity, and practised in its simplicity, is the surest, safest, and firmest support to good and free government righteously administered, — the best friend to the happiness of man in all the circumstances of life.

You will not understand, my brethren, from this course of remark, that I am recommending to any clergyman to become a political preacher, a political talker, or a political partisan, in word

or deed. Very far am I from intimating any such thing. The ninth article of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee comes in aid of our own ecclesiastical regulations which bear upon this point. It sets forth that "Ministers of the Gospel are by their profession dedicated to God and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions." This is enough to rebuke clerical ambition, and to check the desire to figure in the arena of politics. That Clergyman deserves the reprobation of his fellow-men, and incurs the displeasure of Heaven, who abandons or neglects the discharge of his high and holy duties as a Minister of Christ, and descends from the lofty eminence of his received and accredited character, to enter into the angry discussion or contemptible twattle of party politics. I have a widely different apprehension of your duties and obligations. I would have you to instruct the people whom you serve, that they cannot, consistently with their profession, follow the practices and adopt the maxims so current in this age, which lead men to believe that they may claim the privileges and cherish the hope of Christians when they are not acting as Christians; to point out to them the enlarged view which the Gospel takes of their duties and responsibilities in every relation of life, and that its claims of obedience to its precepts are paramount to every worldly interest. And particularly, brethren, are you, like our Divine Master, to set an example in your own personal deportment, of the things which you thus recommend. Precept, when not so enforced and illustrated, is worse than useless; for it draws odium and contempt upon him who presumes to instruct others, but shows that he will not be instructed himself.

In the absence of all provision on the part of the government for the instruction of the people in the principles of public virtue, we ask, where are they to look for that instruction, except to the pulpit? From the newspaper press they cannot expect to derive it, though admirably adapted to that end; since the press, generally under the influence of party organization, and subservient to party purposes, has become the chief instrument in promoting licentiousness. Interest is found to be more powerful in its influence than principle, and hence the press is too often seen catering

for the public appetite. This appetite must be corrected before the press can be reformed. Our seminaries of learning undoubtedly do much in the formation of good moral character among the youth of the country. But the class which it is important to affect is beyond the reach of this influence: they are already men grown, and acting in the responsible stations of citizens and heads of families. To the pulpit, then, are we to look almost exclusively for the inculcation of that sound moral sentiment, founded on religious principle, which supports the great social edifice of our country.

The past and present circumstances of the people have tended in a very remarkable manner to weaken and abridge the influence of moral obligation among us. The extent of our territory, and the variety of our resources, all inviting to enterprise and activity in the accumulation of wealth, have, in their practical effects, made mighty inroads upon good morals. It is under the influence of parental teaching and example, and in the virtuous associations of early life, formed in the neighborhoods where we were born, reared, and educated, that the elements of a good character are ordinarily laid, strengthened, and established. The fact of being known in a community thus operates as a restraint against immoral or irreligious conduct. The man is led to remonstrate with himself on the eve of performing an improper act, and to ask, How can I do this thing, and shame my friends and acquaintances? But in extensive portions of our country, the people are comparatively strangers to each other. The ties which bound them to their parental domicile, and all the associations of their young days, are broken up; and thousands find themselves in a land of strangers with whom they have little sympathy in feelings and habits, and whose presence imposes scarcely any restraint upon their actions. They are here to-day, and gone to-morrow, and care not what estimate is formed of their character by those among whom they have temporarily sojourned. In such a state of things, it must be obvious to reflection, how very important is the aid which the pulpit brings forward to promote the well-being of society. In that solemn and fearful accountability of man to God, to be realized at all times and in all places, and set forth and faithfully declared by the Minister

of religion, a restraining and controlling influence is obtained and acknowledged, which otherwise would be unthought of and unfelt.

Nor is this influence limited to the single case adduced. It is felt measurably through all the ramifications of society, where the truth of God's Word is plainly and faithfully preached. In the constant occupation which most heads of families find, stimulated as they are by having placed before them fair opportunities to amass riches, they have little leisure, at least they employ but a small portion of their time in the moral culture of their children. The rising generations are consequently coming forward to engage in the business of life, uninstructed in the nature of their duties, and uninformed as to their responsibilities. In a vast majority of instances, the young who are just rising into manhood are totally ignorant of the nature and extent of their obligations as moral and accountable beings. They can give shrewd and intelligent answers to all questions concerning traffic and trade, and the value of various kinds of property; but as to the nature and extent of those obligations by which man is bound to "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God," they have been taught nothing, they know nothing, and oftentimes care nothing. The example of their parents has led them to regard money as "the chief good;" and in its acquisition all advantages are to be taken which the law will allow, or which artful evasions of the law will enable them to compass. The social affections are swept away in this struggle for gain; there is no place for their exercise: and the kindly offices of charity and benevolence are unknown. The children of the country are thus in a measure trained up with feelings almost hostile to their species. The idea they have of public liberty is, that they may do as they please, regardless of the comfort and even the rights of others.[1] Reverence for age and character is unfelt, sympathy for suffering and

[1] The following relation furnishes no inapt illustration of the conceptions which many entertain of the rights of freemen. The writer hereof, with two gentlemen on board of a steamboat, were sitting quietly, last winter, reading by the light of a candle placed on one of the small tables which usually occupy the corners of the cabin near the stove. Four persons came up, and by their spokesman said they wanted the table. "For

distress is destroyed, and respect for law and authority despised as meanness. Effrontery is taken for manliness, rudeness for gentility, and impudence for easiness of manners. Is it any wonder, that, under this hardening process, future heroes in crime are formed, and that we hear and read of deeds of daring villany and desperate wickedness? Is it any wonder that an awful recklessness and disregard of human life should be exhibited, that law should be violated, and authority trampled under foot? The history of the present year has presented to us dreadful catastrophes, portraying in the loss of human life incidents of thrilling horror.[1] It is the natural consequence which follows upon the want of a just sense of responsibility grounded upon moral obligation.

It would seem, then, from the view which has been presented, that Ministers of religion occupy a position of immense importance, considered in reference to the prime interests of society. It is their duty to teach their congregations that Christianity binds those who acknowledge its authority and profess its principles, to be strictly obedient to the laws in their letter and manifest intention; that civil and religious liberty, with all its attendant blessings, is a talent for the use of which they must give account to God, the Judge of all. It is their duty to show men that the Gospel does not allow them to take advantage of the necessities of their fellow-men, but obliges them to works of kindness and charity; that industry, prudence, and economy are the means which God has appointed for the attainment of the good things of this life; that their acquisition by other methods is contrary to the order of Providence, and results necessarily in injury to some other portion of the great family of man; that, consequently, all arts to overreach or circumvent others, no matter for what object, either in the private or public relations of a citizen, are wrong, and are positively forbidden by Christ; that evil speaking and defamation

what?" it was asked. "To play whist!" — "But, gentlemen, we are using it ourselves: we are reading." — "It is a *card*-table," said they: "you can sit farther off and read; and there are *four* of us to you *three*, and we *must* have it." The *right* implied in the appeal made to *numbers* settled the question: the table was yielded.

[1] The burning of the Ben Sherrod furnishes examples enough.

are no less prohibited than falsehood itself; and that mildness and gentleness in deportment are due to the persons of all men. It is their duty to instruct parents to exercise a watchful guardianship over their children; that they impress upon the minds of their offspring in every possible way the concerning truth, that God is both the witness and the judge of their conduct and their motives; that they teach them the nature and extent of their responsibilities as members of society; and especially instruct them by precept and example to show a ready and cheerful obedience to lawful authority. As a directory in these things, a Clergyman can find no better guide than that which is furnished him in the Church Catechism. In the statement of the duties which we owe to God and to man, it is plain, comprehensive, easy to be understood, and of most ready application. If this part only of the Catechism were generally received, generally taught, and generally acknowledged in practice, the surface of society would be instantly changed in its aspect, and peace, order, and sobriety shed their united influences and blessings upon our country. I therefore earnestly recommend to each of you, my brethren, and through you to each parent and head of a family in your congregations, a faithful and diligent instruction of all the members of our communion, in the Catechism of this Church.

In this way, by showing practically the advantages of Christ's religion when truly understood, "truly received, and truly followed," in all the relations of life, we shall, I think, remove many of those obstacles which we have found to hinder our efforts in the cause of the Gospel. It is in man's nature to attend chiefly to that which he conceives to be his present interest. The duties of life are so numerous, so frequent in their recurrence, so engrossing in their character, and so worldly in their complexion, that it is not surprising that men refer them to principles more in accordance with their carnal notions than is consistent with the spirituality of the Gospel. Under a persuasion that its preaching is designed to bear almost exclusively upon questions about our spiritual nature, and that its duties are wholly disconnected from the ordinary concerns of life, it is no wonder that they manifest a reluctance to come under its influence. In addition, the infidelity

that is abroad will persuade men that Christianity will interfere not only with their enjoyments, but with their rights, and abridge their liberty to an unreasonable extent. Hence the indisposition manifested by many to contribute any aid towards the erection of places of worship, and the reluctance with which they give a modicum for the decent support of the Ministry. There are those, — and it is humiliating to the feelings with which we cherish the honor of the State to mention the fact, — there are those who will expend hundreds of dollars in an electioneering canvass, and yet begrudge the pitiful sum of five dollars to keep up the preaching of the Gospel for a whole year! Hence, too, in combination with the causes before mentioned, that neglect of public worship so manifest in our own country; and, where it is not wholly neglected, the feeling on the part of many who imagine that they are doing a favor or paying a compliment to a Minister by coming to hear him preach. When we consider all these things, — and they are but few of those that might be named, — it is not amazing that our national character should be waxing worse and worse; that vice, immorality, and irreligion should prevail to an alarming extent; that the mind of the patriot should be troubled for his country, and that the heart of the priest should "tremble for the ark of God."

In calling your attention to this subject, brethren, as one claiming your serious consideration, I would by no means have you to underrate those things which the Gospel points out as the principal obstacles to its success. In the inherent depravity of man, the love of sin and the natural aversion of the human heart to holiness, are to be found our greatest hindrances. A man may be a good citizen, and a rigid observer of all the proprieties of life, and yet cherish a most nauseating dislike to the holiness of God's declared character, an unconquerable disgust to the imitation of the exhibited humility and meekness of Christ's example. But a good Christian must of necessity be a good citizen. He will reverence and obey the civil authority as "the ordinance of God;" he will "be careful to maintain good works;" he will add consecutively to his faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity. In his deportment he

will furnish a convicting refutation of the charge that Christianity does not enjoin love of country as a duty. It is true that the term "patriotism" is not found in the Bible. Scripture does not teach so much by abstract terms, as by expressions called forth in the statement of facts. But resolve this term, upon the absence of which the opponents of Christianity have grounded their charge, into its elements, — and this we are compelled to do in practice, — and we shall find in the precepts of the New Testament, and in the examples of the Old, ample provision made for enforcing the duties not only of private but also of public life.

To show the utter helplessness of man by nature, to reach that holiness of character without which the hope of immortality is disclosed to no purpose, and thus lead sinners to the provisions of Gospel grace and strength; to exhibit the mercy and justice of God's manifested character in the humiliation and death of Christ on the cross; to contrast the worthlessness and transitory nature of things temporal with the infinite value and enduring character of the things that are eternal; to hold forth the comforts and consolations of Christ's religion in the hour of affliction and bereavement, and to carry the light of its solace to the dark and wretched abodes to which poverty and misery have fled from the gaze of the world, — must ever be the prominent and leading objects for which a Minister of Christ lives, labors, and prays. But with the discharge of these holy and bounden duties of his station, he may also combine attention to other things, which, by elevating his office in public esteem, tend to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness, to remove prejudice, and bring the largest number of his fellow-creatures to wait upon God in the worship and ordinances of His house, in a rational and becoming manner, and with a proper sense of their duties, their privileges, and their responsibilities. And I pray God to crown your efforts in this and in all your laudable undertakings with abundant success, that our nation may become as conspicuous for piety and godliness as it is distinguished for civil and religious privileges, and that "peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations."

ADDRESS.[1]

My Christian Friends, — Having now renewed your baptismal vows, suffer a moment the word of exhortation, spoken in the spirit of tender affection, and deep solicitude for your welfare and happiness, temporal and eternal. You can scarcely realize, by any description which words can give, the overpowering interest and anxiety which a pastor feels, when he beholds any of those committed to his charge coming forward for the first time to ratify their obligations of fidelity to God, and love to the Saviour, — when he contemplates the dangers to which they may hereafter be exposed from the malice of a wicked world; when he thinks of the eternal weight of glory which shall be the sure inheritance of the faithful soldiers of Christ, or when his eye in imagination ranges over the vast field of that miserable and wretched eternity where the light of hope never dawns upon the outcast from God. Who can enter into the mingled emotions of pleasure and fear, of anxiety and hope, which rush tumultuously upon the soul at such a moment? None, surely, but those who watch for souls, and who feel the awful responsibility resting upon them, that for souls they must give account in the day of the Lord Jesus. Let me, then, seize upon this occasion — an occasion that happens but once in the life of man — to urge upon you the necessity of diligence in the work of your salvation.

The prevalent spirit of the age is that of indolence in all that concerns the interests of our souls. Professed Christians no longer live, as once exhorted, and as once they did, as strangers and pilgrims upon earth, looking for a better, that is, a heavenly country; but their speech and their conduct too often, alas! indicate as though they had taken this world as their portion, and that here

[1] An Address delivered, 1845, at the Confirmation of the Bishop's daughter, Sarah McGavock, and others.

amidst its sins and follies, its snares and temptations, its sorrows and trials, they were willing to abide forever. In this lies one of your chief dangers. You will be tempted to conclude, that, if you are but as pious and as godly as others around you, you are safe, and may readily omit the performance of the more difficult and painful duties of religion. But, oh! remember that this is not the rule which our blessed Saviour and his Apostles have left for our government. "Be ye perfect, as your Father in Heaven is perfect," is the Divine injunction of our gracious Redeemer; while the like sentiment is echoed by the Apostle, "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation." My dear friends, strive to make the highest attainments in piety, in faith and charity; and never forget that Christ has left us an example, that ye should follow his steps.

The world will throw every obstacle in your way, which it can do, to impede your onward progress to the heavenly world. The shafts of ridicule will be hurled at you with thoughtless levity or with more wicked malice; the finger of scorn will be pointed at you in cruel derision of your profession, or in proud disdain of that prudence which has led you thus early to seek your God. You will have to endure the imperious look of him who is too haughty to submit to Heaven's authority, and to bear patiently the sneer that curls like a serpent upon the lip of infidelity. I know of nothing, and I can conceive of nothing, that so fills up the idea of an impersonation of the Arch-fiend himself, as the heartless and contemptible wretch that would check the first emotions of piety in the youthful heart, and endeavor to plant in their stead, defiance of God and disregard of his law. Consider that your vow this day made, and, as we trust, registered with approbation in Heaven, has cut you loose measurably from the world, — at least, so far as a renunciation of its wicked ways and practices can release you from the thraldom of its power. What though the world may scoff and utter its scorn, you have chosen that good part which shall never be taken away from you. What is the applause of men worth, though spoken in tones loud as the ocean's roar, if purchased at the price of God's favor? what all the pleasures earth has to give, if enjoyed at the sacrifice of the joys of Heaven? What the accu-

mulated riches of the universe, if possessed at the fearful risk of damnation? "Love not the world, neither the things of the world; for if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." Hear ye this solemn warning? Be admonished, then, and persuaded to set your affections on things above, and not on things on the earth. Be true to your high and holy calling. Remember that you are henceforward to be known and called *Christians*, — the most honorable name that ever was conferred upon man; a name that links into one association the once opposing but now adjusted claims of mercy and justice, the reconciliation of righteousness with peace, the union of God with man, the interests of time and eternity, the triumph of Heaven and the overthrow of Hell! Live, then, as Christians, I beseech you; and then when your suns go down, they will descend like the glorious luminary of day, leaving behind rays of brightness to cheer the twilight hour, and to render peaceful the evening of life. The spirit of resignation and comfort will hover around the bed of your last sickness; and those who water your graves with tears of affection will rejoice in hope, and be consoled with the blessed thought that you have safely passed the dangers of time, and joined the glorious company of the spirits of just men made perfect.

God grant that such may be the consummation of your efforts and of our prayers! And may the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be upon and remain with you forever! Amen.

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH: THE MINISTRY: THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.[1]

SERMON I.

"And He is the Head of the body, the Church." — Col. i. 18.

St. Paul the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Colossians, after the salutations with which he commonly begins his letters, proceeds to speak of the great power and dignity of the Redeemer. He enlarges on this topic for the purpose, probably, of strengthening the confidence and hope of the Christians at Colosse in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of encouraging them to "fight the good fight of faith." By declaring in the most ample terms Christ's exalted power and dignity, he would raise them above the fear of trial and persecution in this life, to which they were constantly exposed, and would inspire them with a trust in the Saviour, that would disarm even death of his terrors. For, whom could they reasonably dread, when so much power was engaged in their behalf and for their

[1] The following sermons were written and preached more than a year ago, in the discharge of parochial duty, and without any expectation or intention of their publication. They make no pretensions to literary merit, and no such distinction is claimed for them. Composed literally *currente calamo*, they are given to the public just as they were preached, with the exception of two or three additional quotations in the first of the series, the notes, and the appendix.

The writer has no expectation that these discourses will prove palatable to the great majority in this country "who call themselves Christians." Yet he is not without hope that their facts, statements, and arguments, if duly weighed, will lead to further examination on the part of those who are concerned "to know the truth." "And if for necessary truth's sake only, any man will be offended, nay take, nay snatch at that offence which is not given, I know no defence for that. 'Tis truth, and I must tell it; 'tis the Gospel, and I must preach it. And far safer is it in this case to bear anger from men, than a woe from God."

Columbia, July 1, 1843.

protection? "For by Him," says the Apostle, "were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him: and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist. And He is the Head of the body, the Church: who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead; that in all things He might have the pre-eminence."[1]

Under the guidance and safe-guard of such a Friend, the saints at Colosse might well rise superior to all the discouragements and difficulties which encompassed them in their journey through this weary world, and look forward with composure to the approach of that inevitable hour when they must sink into the grave under the stroke of death.

We would do well, brethren, to remember that the same mercy embraces us, that the same power is engaged for our protection, that the same gracious Redeemer is our unfailing Friend, and that in reliance upon Him we are authorized to cherish the same blessed hopes for time and for eternity.

The first thing that strikes us, as worthy of observation in the text, is the singular terms in which the Apostle speaks of *the Church*. It is called a *body*, — a body of which *Christ* is the *Head*.

The *head* is the seat of all those mental perceptions which enable us to exercise our judgment, and by which the actions of the body are controlled and directed. So the Lord Jesus Christ, being Head of the Church, is the source of all wisdom, power, and dignity in it. The meaning of the Apostle's metaphor, we conceive to be fully cleared by this brief and simple explanation. Perhaps many points of resemblance might be sought out; yet they would probably be of a fanciful character, and tend little to edification.

As the Church is here and elsewhere in Scripture expressly called a *body*,[2] we are at once and necessarily reminded of the *unity* which should distinguish it in *faith* and *practice*. As the members of the natural body are united together and to the head, by the

[1] Col. i. 16–18. [2] 1 Cor. x. 17; Eph. i. 23, iv. 16.

veins, arteries, and nerves; so the members of the Church are united with one another and to Christ the Head, by the Spirit, faith, love, sacraments, word, and ministry. "There is one faith, and one baptism," saith the Apostle, in the very same connection in which he declares that "there is one body."[1]

It must be clear, even to slight reflection, that in the first promulgation of the Gospel, and in the gathering-together of the Church, believers were perfectly united in the profession of the same Faith, and in submission to the same ordinances. The circumstances by which the first converts to Christianity were surrounded, measurably compelled them to union; and that they were so united, is manifestly set forth in the declaration that "they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers."[2] It was the prayer of our blessed Saviour, and among the last which He, as man, addressed to the Father concerning his disciples, that "they all might be one."[3] And it adds to the affecting interest of this prayer, to consider that the Divine Redeemer seems to regard the unity of his Church as a necessary evidence to the world that the Father had sent him. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us: *that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.*"[4]

"That they all may be one," — one in love, one in faith, one in practice, one in hope. This *oneness* of the Christian Church continued, with but little interruption, until the perilous and purifying times of persecution ceased, and believers began to exercise themselves about questions which in their discussion, instead of ministering grace to those who heard, tended rather to strifes and divisions, and the evil works which usually attend upon contentions.

Divisions of the Christian name have at length so multiplied, that in our day it seems that the question is rarely made, whether

[1] Eph. iv. 4, 5. [2] Acts ii. 42. [3] St. John xvii. 20, 21, [4] St. John xvii. 20, 21.

such things are allowable under the law of Christ. It appears to be taken for granted, that men will differ in their religious views; that differences are inevitable from the very constitution of men; that they will haye their preferences, and that these preferences, no matter upon what grounds they may be entertained, may be safely indulged to the extent of attaching one's self to any society whatever that professes to be Christian. In short, there seems to be a very widely diffused persuasion in the public mind, that one denomination of professed Christianity is, as to authority, about as good as another. Hence we hear of many different associations styled Churches, — the deluded followers of Joe Smith the Mormon prophet, and others equally ignorant and fanatical, appropriating to themselves this venerable and once venerated appellation. Hence it has come to pass, that the exercise of a salutary discipline has almost ceased among the professed followers of Christ; it being found impossible to prevent the reception, to what are called Church privileges, of those repelled, rejected, or expelled by some association calling itself Christian; and hence the chief aim of the various sects of the age seems to be, to gain influence and power by adding to their numerical strength, rather than to promote true piety and godliness among men.

Can any serious and reflecting person, however, really think that the various bodies of men who are known under the name of Churches of Christ are verily authorized to act in His name, and impart to others authority to administer the sacraments of His religion? Especially can they so think, when they perceive the practical results to which such opinions lead in the countless divisions into which the professed followers of Christ are now scattered, — in the bitterness and rancor which opposing sects exhibit towards each other?

Without the introduction of some restraining principle to counteract this general disposition among men of the present day to separate into parties, it must be too evident to need proof, that every thing like unity among Christians will be at an end. The only bond to draw men together in ecclesiastical associations will then be inclination and interest, or accidental circumstances growing out of the intercourse of social life. And when these cease to

operate or to have influence, new divisions must ensue from a change of circumstances or of relations in an ever varying and changing world; until every distinctive feature of the Christian system and of the Church, one after another, shall pass away, and the whole be divested of that Divine authority which alone can and ought to give it sanction and weight with men. Indeed, if these separations into distinct bodies or communities be allowable, there seems to be no good reason why every man should not act for himself and family in the affairs of religion, without the intervention or aid of any Ministry whatever. And certainly those who at this day have discarded all authority in the Church, act consistently in administering the rites of religion at all times, in all places, and to all persons who ask for them, without reference to any rule, law, or custom upon the subject. They act consistently, we say, with their avowed principles. Whether these principles be in accordance with the revealed will of God, as interpreted by the practice of the primitive Church, is another and a very different matter.

An idea seems to prevail quite extensively, that Christianity in its doctrines and forms is susceptible of improvement like the arts and sciences, and that new discoveries are to reward investigation into it, as in other things. Hence old-fashioned views of religion — such as teaching children the Catechism, and training them to the habitual practice of devotion and other Christian duties, are not only rejected, but actually ridiculed as savoring of earthliness; and the self-constituted reformers of the age set forth their own peculiar sentiments with all the positive confidence and directness of assertion which attach to the claim of infallibility. There is truth in the maxim which says that extremes meet, and those who first set out with a denial of all authority are presently found claiming all authority for themselves.

This is strikingly shown in the movements of a modern sect called by themselves *Reformers*, but better known among us under the appellation of *Campbellites*. And here I beg to be understood not as mentioning names reproachfully, but simply for the sake of illustration. Among these, as well as among others to whom I shall have occasion to refer in this discourse, I am free to declare, and I take pleasure in saying, that I believe there are many

humble, pious, and sincere believers, "who through faith and patience are striving to inherit the promises."[1]

One of the characteristics of the sect already named is the rejection of all creeds, and the avowed adoption of the New Testament in their place, as the only and all-sufficient standard of faith and practice. If, say they, creeds are contrary to the New Testament, they are wrong, and ought to be rejected. If they are in accordance with it, they are at least unnecessary, and may be injurious. There is plausibility in this reasoning, — full as much as that which decided the fate of the famous library of Alexandria, — but far more sophistry concealed under an exterior of much candor and fairness. The word *creed* means what? Undoubtedly *belief*. And it matters not in principle, whether it consist of one article or twenty. Now, when we come to ask these people who have undertaken to reform Christianity, or rather the Church, what they *believe* to be meant by Christian baptism, they unhesitatingly declare that it is *immersion* in water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;[2] and that no affusion, pouring, or sprinkling of water can be properly regarded as baptism. Consequently all persons who have been baptized in any other way than by immersion, they consider as yet without the pale of the Church, and strangers to the covenant of promise. And their practice accords herewith; for no person can or will be received into what they are pleased to style the kingdom of Heaven or of Christ, without submitting to be immersed.

Thus we see, then, that, while they profess to reject all creeds, they nevertheless strenuously maintain — and right they are for doing this — that interpretation of the language of Scripture which *they believe* to be the truth of God: and, consequently, do, in

[1] Heb. vi. 12.

[2] The form of words in baptizing is not the same with all the *preachers* or *proclaimers* among these people. Some use the common form, "I baptize thee, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Others of them say, "By the authority of the Messiah, I baptize thee for the remission of sins;" and some here add, "In the name of the Father," etc. Others again, "I baptize thee into the name of Jesus, for the remission of sins."

practice, uphold the very thing which they condemn in others. For a creed was never intended to express any thing more than what was conceived to be the meaning of Holy Scripture. It is the purpose of the Creed to express, in as brief a form as possible, the leading facts and main doctrines of the Christian religion; and so far from having the effect, as is alleged, of separating men into parties, just the contrary object is aimed at, and just the opposite result, for the most part, obtained by their use. No man who believes in the Divine authority of the New Testament will object to a single article of what is called the Apostles' Creed. Much of it is in the very language of Scripture;[1] and that which is not is nevertheless so plainly deducible from it, that no intelligent person will deny that it is built upon the express authority of God's Holy Word. No really sound objection, therefore, can be urged against its use. On the other hand, the many valuable purposes which it serves by presenting a concise summary of the Christian Faith, and forming a bond of union among the followers of Christ, will always vindicate the wisdom of retaining it among our forms of public worship. The precise period of time at which this Creed, venerable for its antiquity, was composed, is not known with certainty. No doubt it was very near to the Apostles' times, though we cannot assert that it belongs to the very age in which they lived and preached. It is as near a transcript of what they taught, very briefly expressed, as can well be conceived. Indeed, some learned men have given it as their opinion, that this Creed was formed as an abstract from the Apostolic writings, and intended as far as possible to supply the want of the sacred books among people who had not the opportunity to read them; as likewise to furnish an outline, to ignorant people incapable of reading, of what things they were required to believe in order to their becoming Christians, — purposes which the Creed is admirably adapted to answer, as any one may be easily convinced of, who undertakes to teach the unlearned the main doctrines of revelation, and their own corresponding duties.

But one of the chief and among the most excellent purposes

[1] See 1 Cor. xv.

which the Creed answers, especially by its introduction into the worship of the congregation, is the preservation of unity among the members of the body. It is thus that we are all enabled to "speak the same thing," and "be perfectly joined together," as the Apostle enjoins, "in the same mind and the same judgment."[1] It is thus we confess Christ "before men," profess "the Faith once delivered to the saints,"[2] and preclude all just occasion for divisions.

It is thus, too, that liberty of conscience is secured. Not that sort of liberty which amounts to *free thinking*, which spurns all restrictions and limitations upon the reason and judgment, which puts at defiance all law and authority, and sets up its own dictum as the infallible truth of God. This is licentiousness, and not liberty. This is that wild spirit of insubordination, which, under the name of *freedom*, has never failed to exercise an iron despotism over the minds of men wherever and whenever an opportunity was presented. Of this, the past history of the world has furnished abundant and striking examples; and it is, in truth, the real foundation of nearly all the systems which sectarianism has introduced, defended, and established.

The Apostles' and Nicene Creeds contain an outline of the main facts and doctrines of the Gospel. They deal with general principles.[3] They set forth not a single peculiarity, except as it may distinguish Christianity from all other religions; nor do they enunciate a single fact, or declare a single doctrine, in which the vast majority, if not all Christians, do not agree. And here is a leading point of difference between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the various dissenting bodies around her. She requires the reception only of that which was confessedly acknowledged in the primitive Church as the Christian Faith, — as of universal belief and no less universal practice. The Nicene Creed was put forth as embodying the sense and judgment of the Church of Christ, as early as the year 325 (A.D.), and in condemnation of the Arian heresy which then began to disturb the unity of the

[1] 1 Cor. i. 10. [2] St. Jude, 3.

[3] These as applied in practice are extended and explained in the worship, offices, etc., of the church.

body. Whatever can be shown to be of undoubted belief and practice, among the whole body of believers previous to that time, we hold to be obligatory upon us at this day, as members of the Catholic Church of Christ. We call on no man to subscribe to any thing peculiar and distinct from what was thus believed and practised, in order to his becoming a Christian. The demand made is, "Dost thou believe all the articles of the Christian Faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed?"[1] and upon the affirmative profession thus made, we baptize in the name of the blessed and adorable Trinity, and receive the subject into the visible Church, as a member of Christ's body. Not so with the self-styled Reformers of this age, who insist upon immersion as indispensable to admission into the visible fold of Christ. Not so with Presbyterians, who set forth in their "confession of faith," that "angels and men, predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; that the righteous are chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of God's mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace;" and that it hath pleased God, "for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by the rest of mankind, and ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sins, to the praise of his glorious justice."[2] Not so with Methodists, who substitute internal persuasions, which they call the assurance of faith, or the witness of God's Spirit, for that holiness of life, that inward purity and moral rectitude, which are the proper *evidence* of conversion, of renovation, of an acceptable state with God. Not so with Papists, who demand unqualified submission to the decrees of the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, as an indispensable condition of salvation. Thus *the theological opinions of men* are attempted to be bound on the consciences of mankind as dogmas of faith, and the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, virtually destroyed.

[1] Prayer-Book: Office of Baptism.

[2] Confession of Faith; article or ch. iii. of God's eternal decrees — Phila. Ed. 1821.

Contrary to all these, and many others too numerous to be named, the Holy Catholic Church of Christ teaches as articles of faith those things only which are plainly delivered in the written Word of Christ and his Apostles, and about the truth of which there never was any doubt among the faithful. And now let me ask, is not this reasonable? is not this safe? is it not consistent with the charity of the Gospel? If my fellow-man professes his conviction of the truth of what the Apostles taught, why must I impose on him new and additional terms of communion or fellowship which they never required? Why must my interpretation of Scripture be taken as correct, and his condemned? or why his received, and mine rejected? Who is to decide between us, if we chance to disagree? a thing very likely to happen. We both appeal to the written Word: who is to be umpire between us? There is no decision to be had in such a case, without an appeal to the authority of the Church, — without reverting to primitive Christianity, and that which has received the sanction of all, everywhere, and from the beginning to the Council of Nice, A.D. 325 (down to which period it is acknowledged on all hands, the Faith was kept pure and unadulterated by the great body of believers in every part of the world); and this must be regarded as of apostolical authority. Further than this we need not go, to be assured of our fellowship with the apostles, and through the sacraments of the Church which they established, of our union to Christ, the living Head.

I have thought it the more necessary to dwell on this part of the subject, because of the misapprehension and prejudice, not to say misrepresentation, which I know to abound in the community, respecting the Church, and the position which she occupies towards the various religious professions around us. The Church utters no denunciations against others, who through faith and repentance are striving, however misguidedly in some things, after the crown of life. She takes her stand on general principles, which may be known and read of all men; and in the setting-forth of these, the plainness and simplicity of her language are equalled only by its modesty, — by the carefulness with which she has guarded her formularies from the expression of a harsh and uncharitable judgment on the faith and practice of others.

Are we asked, What is the Church? The Nineteenth Article replies: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

Is the demand made, Who are authorized to minister the Word and Sacraments of Christ's religion? The preface to the Ordinal furnishes the answer, thus: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which Offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by public Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, was approved and admitted thereunto by lawful Authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination." It will be perceived from the foregoing, that the Church undertakes to declare who shall be accounted lawful ministers in her own communion. She raises not the question, nor does she say one word about the authority of those who execute the functions of religion among others. She judges them not; to their own Master they stand or fall, and to Him they must give account. If others think their authority called in question by the declaration which she sets forth, that "it is evident to all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," she is not to blame for it. It is their own fault that they have not sought for that authority from the source and in the way which she declares to be lawful. It is her business to see that the application of the general principle which she asserts be made to those who seek to

minister in her congregations. And this is all that she undertakes to do, leaving others to pursue the course which they believe to be warranted by the Word of God and the practice of the Church of Christ. It is, however, not a little remarkable, that the correctness of the general principle stated by the Church is admitted by the large majority of those who have left her pale, and set up separate communions for themselves.

Thus Calvin, the founder of Presbyterianism, says, "If they will give us such an hierarchy, in which the Bishops have such a pre-eminence as that they do not refuse to be subject unto Christ, I will confess that *they are worthy of all anathemas*, if any such there be, *who will not reverence it, and submit themselves to it with the utmost obedience.*" [1]

Thus Martin Luther: "I allow that each state ought to have one Bishop of its own by Divine right; which I show from Paul, saying 'for this cause left I thee in Crete.'" [2]

Thus Melanchthon: "I would to God it lay in me to restore the government of Bishops. For I see what manner of Church we shall have, the ecclesiastical polity being dissolved. I do see that hereafter will grow up in the Church a greater tyranny than there ever was before." [3]

Thus Beza, the successor of Calvin: "In my writings touching Church government, I ever impugned the Romish hierarchy, but never intended to touch or impugn the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England." [4]

The plea urged for establishing a government of Presbyters, contrary to what was the known order of the Church, was necessity. The Reformation on the Continent was carried forward by the lower orders of the Clergy, — that is, by the Presbyters and Deacons, — in conjunction with the people. The Bishops refused to unite with them except in a very few instances. In England, on the contrary, the Ministry, including Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, reformed with the people; and hence there existed no necessity and no reason to change the order of government by

[1] Word for the Church, p. 51, Joannes Calvini Trac. Theo. omnes, p. 69.
[2] *Ibid.*, Resolutions. [3] *Ibid.*, Apology, etc., p. 395.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 52, Letter to Archp. Whitgift.

Bishops, and consequently no alteration was then, or for a long time after, attempted.

But what does this plea of necessity unavoidably suppose? Unquestionably, a departure from some established rule and order, otherwise there could be no reason or sense at all in such plea. It must be evident, then, beyond cavil, that, when the necessity ceases, the practice which the plea of necessity is introduced to justify ought to cease also. And it is on this ground precisely that we urge all those who practise Presbyterian ordination,[1] to cease an irregularity (to use the softest term) which the state of the Christian world no longer renders necessary, if it ever did; and return to the application of the rule which, beyond all doubt, prevailed in the primitive and apostolic Church.

But to justify this separation, and uphold the Presbyterial form of Church government, it is sometimes asserted that the Orders of the Episcopal Church are defective or vitiated because derived through a corrupt channel, — that is, the Romish Church. If this objection avails any thing, it is as destructive of the validity of Presbyterian orders, as it is of Episcopal ordination. For, from whom did the Presbyters that founded the Presbyterian form of Church government in the sixteenth century, derive their authority? Undoubtedly, from the Church of Rome; and whatever authority they claimed and exercised, without question flowed through that channel. And can it be that this same fountain sent forth waters both sweet and bitter at the same time, — that, more mysterious than Elisha's salt at Jericho, Presbyterian orders came forth from it pure and unadulterated, while Episcopacy was tainted and corrupted? You perceive, then, that the objection, if of any weight, is fatal to those who make it. But it is alleged that the Episcopacy of the English Church, and of course that of the American branch, comes through the Roman pontiffs or popes, and, the Pope being the man of sin, he can of course transmit no power or authority in the Church of Christ. We see not that this shifting of ground helps along with the difficulty. For it is not to be

[1] The Methodists of course included; for they have nothing but Presbyterial ordination to plead, if they can make good their claim even to that. Neither Wesley nor Coke was a Bishop.

conceived how, if the connection which Bishops maintained with the Roman Pope vitiated or abrogated their authority, the power of Presbyters was not annulled because of the same connection.

That the popes of Rome, aided by the secular power, did usurp and exercise an ecclesiastical domination in Great Britain, we are not so ignorant of history as to deny. That that domination vitiated or destroyed the Orders of the English Church, we do most emphatically deny; and to sustain that denial we appeal both to facts and argument. Much of the misapprehension and consequent misrepresentation which abound upon this subject are referable to the ignorance which prevails respecting the original establishment of Christianity in the British Islands, and the subsequent introduction of Romanism. We deem the subject of importance and interest enough to merit particular attention; and, although our observations must at present be restricted to the limits usually appropriated to a single discourse, yet will they be, we trust, amply sufficient to lead to a correct understanding of the question before us.

It is matter of history, well authenticated, that Augustine the monk came to Britain from Gregory of Rome, on a mission to the Anglo-Saxons, in the year 590. It is equally well known, that, some time after his arrival, he met in conference seven Bishops already established in their sees in Britain, and exercising Episcopal authority over the churches under their care. The question at once arises, By whom was Christianity planted in Britain, and whence did these Bishops derive consecration? The answer to these questions will show what connection the ancient British Church had with the Roman see.

And, first, we have witnesses as to the fact that Christianity existed in Britain long before the arrival of Augustine.

Tertullian[1] (A.D. 193–220) says, "Some countries of the

[1] Adversus Judœos, c. 7: "Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, *et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.*"

Orat. tom. 1, p. 575: "*Και γαρ αι Βρετανικαι νησοι αι της θαλαττης εκτος κειμεναι, και εν αυτω ουσαι τω Ωκεανω της δυναμεως του ρωματος ησθοντο,*" etc.

Britons which proved inaccessible to the Romans are subject to Christ."

Origen (A.D. 230) says, "When did Britain before the coming of Christ unite in the worship of one God?"

Chrysostom (A.D. 400), "The British Islands, situated beyond our sea, and lying in the very ocean, have felt the power of the Word; for even there churches are built, and altars erected."

You will remember that Augustine came to England A.D. 590. These testimonies show conclusively that Christianity was preached, and churches erected there, long before he was born.

2. We have a witness as to the *time* when Christianity was introduced into Britain. Gildas, a Briton by birth, A.D. 546, says it was in the year of our Lord 61; viz., in and about the date of St. Paul's travels to the West. Gildas, after mentioning the defeat of Boadicea, A.D. 61, adds, "*In the meanwhile the sun of the Gospel first enlightened this island.*"

3. We have a witness as to the *persons* by whom the Gospel was there preached. Eusebius (A.D. 270–340) speaking of the travels of the Apostles to propagate the faith, says some of them "passed over the ocean to the British Isles," — "*επι τας καλουμενας Βρεταvικας νησους.*"[1]

4. We have witnesses as to the *specific man*. Clemens Romanus (A.D. 70), the intimate friend and fellow-laborer of St. Paul, says of him, that in preaching the Gospel he went to the *utmost bounds of the West*, "*επι το τερμα της δυσεως*;" an expression denoting Spain, Gaul, and Britain, but more particularly the last-named region.

Jerome (A.D. 329–420), speaking of St. Paul's imprisonment and subsequent journey into Spain, says he went from ocean to ocean, and preached the Gospel in the *Western parts*. That in the *Western parts* he included Britain, is evident from his letter to Marcella. Theodoret (A.D. 423–460) mentions the Britons among the nations converted by the Apostles; and says that St. Paul, after his release from imprisonment, went to Spain, and from thence carried the light of the Gospel to other nations, and

[1] Dem. Ev., L. 3, c. 7.

brought salvation to *the Islands that lie in the ocean.* All writers whom I have consulted understand by this expression, as used by the Fathers, the British Isles.[1] Theodoret calls the British Christians "disciples of the tent-maker" (St. Paul). These authorities are decisive as to the establishment of Christianity in Britain before the coming of Augustine in A.D. 590. The conclusion is irresistible from the testimony, that the Church was there planted by the Apostles, and most probably by St. Paul. "The Bishop whom St. Paul is recorded to have appointed was Aristobulus, who is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans. By the appointment of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the *form of Church government was complete;* and the British Church, therefore, in a spiritual sense, was fully established. And what results from this establishment of the British Church by St. Paul? This very interesting consequence, that the Church of Britain was fully established before the Church of Rome. For Linus, the first Bishop of Rome, was appointed by the joint authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year of their martyrdom, and therefore after St. Paul's return from Britain."[2]

"The British Church," continues the same writer, "was never theirs (the Romanists) but by usurpation. For, though our Saxon ancestors were converted to Christianity by Popish missionaries, yet at that very period the British Church, maintaining herself in the unconquered parts of the island, had subsisted from the days of her first founder, St. Paul, and distinguished herself not only by her opposition to the heresy of Pelagius, but to the corruptions of Popery."[3] She had every thing necessary or essential to the being

[1] It will be perceived that the foregoing quotations are very brief, and in some instances the substance of the witness's testimony given without his precise words — which would have, if so furnished, to be arrayed in the dress of the ancient Greek or Latin. For the satisfaction of those who desire to settle the question of St. Paul's preaching the Gospel in Great Britain, I would refer for full information to the Letters of Bishop Burgess of St. David's to his Clergy, published in the second volume of "The Churchman armed against the Errors of the time." The point is there settled, it seems to me, beyond controversy.

[2] Bishop Burgess.

[3] The following passage from a letter of Bishop Davies to Archbishop

and perfection of a Church, — doctrine, discipline, and worship, dioceses, bishops, clergy, sacraments, rites, customs, church-edifices, and schools for the instruction of her children. Nor let it be supposed that there existed, in what may be called a rude and barbarous age, the mere "form of godliness" in these arrangements, without the manifestation of its power in the principles and practice of the members of the British Church. The following extract from a treatise still extant, of Fastidius, Bishop of London more than a hundred years before the arrival of Augustine, will show that the Clergy of Britain not only understood the genuine principles of the Gospel, but that they also knew how to inculcate them in practice: —

"It is the will of God, that His people should be holy, and apart from all stain of unrighteousness: so righteous, so merciful, so pure, so unspotted by the world, so single-hearted, that the heathen should find no fault in them, but say with wonder, Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom He hath chosen for His inheritance. We read in the Evangelist, that one came to our Saviour, and asked him what he should do to gain eternal life. The answer he received was, If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. Our Lord did not say, Keep faith only. For, if faith is all that is required, it is overmuch to say that the commandments must be kept. But far be it from me that I should suppose my Lord to have taught any thing overmuch. Let this be said only by those whose sins have numbered them with the children of perdition.

"Let no man, then, deceive or mislead his brother. Except a

Parker contains a very interesting record of the sentiments of the British Church: "One notable story was in the chronicle; howe, after the Saxons conquered, contynewall warre remayned bytwixt the Brittayns (then inhabitauntes of the realme) and the Saxons, the Brittayns beyng christians, and the Saxons pagan. As occasion served, they sometymes treated of peace, and then mette together, and communed together, and dyd eate and drynk together, but after that by the meanes of Austen the Saxons became christians in such sort, as Austen had taught them, the Brittayns wold not after that nether eate nor drynk wyth them, nor yet salute them, bycause they corrupted wyth superstition, ymages and ydolatrie, the true religion of Christ." — *Churchman Armed*, etc., p. 350.

man is righteous, he hath not life; except he keep the commandments of Christ, he hath no part with him. A Christian is one who shows mercy to all; who is provoked by no wrong; who suffers not the poor in this world to be oppressed; who relieves the wretched, succors the needy; who mourns with mourners, and feels the pain of another as his own; who is moved to tears by the sight of another's tears; whose house is open to all; whose table is spread for all the poor; whose good deeds all men know; whose wrongful dealing no man feels; who serves God day and night, and ever meditates upon His precepts; who is made poor to the world, that he may be rich towards God; who is content to be inglorious among men, that he may appear glorious before God and his angels; who has no deceit in his heart; whose soul is simple and undefiled, and his conscience faithful and pure; whose whole mind rests on God; whose whole hope is fixed on Christ, desiring heavenly things rather than earthly, and leaving human things to lay hold on things divine."[1]

If the foregoing be a fair specimen of the teaching of the ancient British Church, we may well conclude that the foundation of their ecclesiastical establishment was laid by a wise master-builder; that "in doctrine they were incorrupt, and held the mystery of faith in a pure conscience." It was while the Christians of Britain were "living in all godly quietness," and, animated doubtless by the constraining love of Christ, were pushing their missions into the northern parts of the island for the conversion of the Picts and Scots, and into Ireland, that that terrible invasion of the Saxons took place, which resulted in the conquest of the country, and well-nigh the ruin of the British Church. The Britons, abandoned by the Romans, presented but a feeble resistance to the veteran and disciplined battalions of the Saxons, led on by daring spirits, and animated by the hope of plunder. All the eastern, southern, and midland districts were in a short time overrun and in possession of the invaders; and the unhappy Britons, driven from their homes, were forced to seek refuge in France or in the mountainous and inaccessible parts of Wales and Cornwall. Here history

[1] Churton's Early English Church, pp. 29, 30.

represents them as sternly maintaining for a long time their independence, and, what is equally honorable to their character, as faithfully adhering to the principles and practice of the faith which they had received from the founders of their Church. It was in this condition, about the year 590, that Augustine found them. He had come on a mission from Gregory, Bishop of Rome, to attempt the conversion of the Saxons; and well indeed had it been if he had confined his views and efforts to this single object, instead of attempting, as he did subsequently, to establish a spiritual supremacy alike unknown and repugnant to the practice and feelings of the British Christians. Augustine and his company came first to the court of King Ethelbert at Canterbury, whose queen, Bertha, was a Christian, who had brought with her from France a Bishop by name Liudhard or Lithardus, as her instructor in the faith of the Gospel. He had, for many years previous to the arrival of Augustine, preached and administered the rites of our holy religion in the Church of St. Martin's, near to Canterbury, a venerable pile which yet survives, sacred alike for its antiquity and for its associations with the early establishment of Christianity in Britain. To the piety and hospitality of Liudhard, Augustine was indebted for his first night's entertainment at Canterbury. Within a little more than a year after this time, Augustine received consecration at the hands of Vigil, Archbishop of Arles, and Etherius, Bishop of Lyons in France, and, returning to Canterbury, was invested with the pall[1] from Gregory of Rome as an Archbishop. Here was the beginning of that assumption of authority which the successors of Gregory, the Popes of Rome, have since claimed to exercise over the British Church. It has never been pretended, even, that Augustine received his spiritual authority as a Bishop

[1] The pall (pallium) was sent by the Bishops of Rome to the Metropolitans and other chief Bishops of the West, at or after their consecration, in token of their recognition of them as lawfully invested with their office. Though it was for several ages only a sign of fraternal regard, and a pledge of intercommunion, it came at length (when the *honorary primacy* of the Bishop of Rome had gradually been changed into a *supremacy of power*) to be regarded as a necessary preliminary to the exercise of jurisdiction by a newly consecrated Bishop.

by consecration at the hands of Gregory. All history testifies that he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Arles, a see at that time independent of Rome; and consequently the line of succession among the English bishops, if traced through the Archbishop of Canterbury, conducts not to Rome, but to Arles, and thence to Lyons, thence to Smyrna, where Polycarp presided as Bishop, and from him to St. John at Ephesus.[1]

Even the public forms of religion, as then introduced and established, were not taken from the Mass-book, as the Romanists boast, and dissenters ignorantly believe; but in the portions yet retained in the Book of Common Prayer were older than the beginning of the corrupt doctrine of the mass. Gregory, so far from requiring Augustine to observe the service used at Rome, expressly charges him to search diligently for what might be more edifying in other churches; referring him especially to the old Church of Gaul, which was closely united in faith and practice with the old British or Welsh Church. "We are not to love customs," said he, "on account of the places from which they come; but let us love all places where good customs are observed. Choose therefore from every Church whatever is pious, religious, and well-ordered; and when you have made a bundle of good rules, leave them for your best legacy to the English." Neither did Gregory claim to exercise the powers which have been so arrogantly and without right or reason contended for as the prerogative of his successors. For, in opposition to the pretensions of the Bishop of Constantinople, he asserted that "whosoever claims the universal Episcopate is the forerunner of Antichrist." Ah! he little imagined that he was then uttering a sentiment which in after-ages

[1] The Churches in Asia (of which Ephesus and Smyrna, the sees of St. John and St. Polycarp, were the chief) sent a mission to Gaul, about the middle of the second century, under Photinus, who became Bishop of Lyons, and was succeeded by St. Irenæus. This mission established, if it did not found, the Church in Gaul; and perpetuated in that country, not only the apostolic succession in the time of St. John, but also the Asiatic Liturgy and usages; until the intimate connection between Rome and Gaul, which was cemented by the Carlovingian dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries, enabled the Popes to substitute gradually the Roman Liturgy and customs for the Gallican.

would apply with marvellous directness to his successors. For the Popes of Rome to this day claim the universal Episcopate, and so fall under the heavy condemnation and withering rebuke of their illustrious predecessor.

Augustine had not long exercised his Episcopal authority in England, before he proposed, and through Ethelbert succeeded in, bringing the British Bishops to a conference. In this interview the Archbishop of Cambria (Wales), seven Bishops, and a considerable number of other British Clergy, were present. Augustine proposed to them to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome over their branch of the Catholic Church, to conform to the Romish custom of keeping Easter,[1] to use the Romish forms and ceremonies in celebrating the rite of baptism, and to join the Roman missionaries in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. To these demands they returned a firm and decided negative, positively refusing to acknowledge Augustine as their Archbishop. The answer of Dunod, the Abbot of Bangor, clearly vindicates the independence of the British Church, and shows that the idea of Roman supremacy was not tolerated for a moment. "We are bound," said he, "to serve the Church of God, and the Bishop of Rome, and every godly Christian, as far as keeping them in offices of love and charity: this service we are ready to pay; but more than this I do not know to be due to him or any other. We have a primate of our own, who is to oversee us under God, and to keep us in the way of spiritual life." This answer, given in the genuine

[1] "The British Church at this time kept their Easter Day on a Sunday, from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the paschal moon inclusive; whereas the Roman Church kept it on the Sunday which fell between the fifteenth and twenty-first. The rule of the Church laid down at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was that Easter should be kept on the first Sunday after the full moon next following the twenty-first day of March. Some old Churches of the East had kept it on the fourteenth day of the moon, which was the day of the Jew's Passover, on whatever day of the week it fell. The Britons seem to have had this custom, which they supposed to be observed in the Churches founded by St. John in Asia; but after the Council of Nice, wishing to correct their practice, they had still begun one day too soon." — CHURTON'S *Early English Church*, p. 44, New-York edition.

spirit of Catholic independence, fully confirms the truth of Sir William Blackstone's remark, that "the ancient British Church, by whomsoever founded, was a stranger to the Bishop of Rome and his pretended authority." "Britain knew not that the message from Rome was the forerunner of *forcing* away that independence, of which the bare asking would not gain the surrender: and though from this time onward to the sixteenth century, the Holy Catholic Church of Britain fought inch by inch for that liberty wherewith Christ had made her free, what could she do? The student of these times knows full well the feeble condition of the Britons invaded by the Pagan Saxons." The slaughter of twelve hundred ecclesiastics at one time, on the borders of Wales, by Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, not without suspicion that Augustine himself was privy to the relentless massacre, furnishes melancholy evidence of the hapless condition of the Britons. "The British Church could not but be depressed when her sons suffered. What then, *could* she do in this situation, when, in addition to the attacks of the Saxon, the arm of the Italian Church was stretched forth not to assist, but (as it finally turned out) to crush and enslave her? Does any one say the British Church could at least protest? Ay! and so she did, most manfully and boldly. Her voice was heard, in the persons of her Bishops, her Clergy,[1] and her laity, protest-

[1] The following declaration and protest of the Clergy of Berkshire, 1240, will prove, that, however the fire of Christian liberty may have been smothered in that dark period of the world's history, it was very far from being extinct: —

"The Rectors of Churches in Berkshire, all and each, say thus: —

"First, That it is not lawful to contribute money to support a man against the emperor; for, though the Pope has excommunicated him, he has not been convicted or condemned as a heretic by any sentence of the Church. And if he has seized or invaded the estates of the Church of Rome, still it is not lawful for the Church to resist force by force.

"Secondly, That as the Roman Church has its own estates, the management of which belongs to the lord Pope, so have other Churches theirs, granted them by gift and allowance of pious kings, princes, and noblemen; which in no respect are liable to pay tax or tribute to the Church of Rome.

"Thirdly, Although the law says, all things belong to the prince, this does not mean that they are part of his property and domain, but are under his care and charge; and in like manner the Churches belong to the lord

ing against the usurpation of Rome, from its commencement in the sixth century up to its close in the sixteenth."

"The British Church produced a noble array of divines from Dinoth (Dunod) of Bangor, to Cranmer of Canterbury, who from time to time did all they could to resist the uncanonical and anti-catholic usurpation of her spiritual rights; but for centuries it was all in vain. They could only stave off the evil day for a time; and at length, about the end of the Norman conquest, the Catholic Church of Britain, planted by Apostolic hands, was completely forced beneath the feet of her unnatural and ambitious sister, the Church of Rome. With her religion went her political glory. And methinks the hot blood of virtuous indignation must now crimson the cheek of England's sons, when they look back to those times that saw their soil, like their Church, under the thraldom of an Italian Bishop! when their monarchs, the second Henry and his son (out upon such drivelling cowards!), disgraced their own and their country's name, the first by baring his back to be scourged by

Pope as to care and charge, not as to dominion and property. And when Christ said, '*Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church,*' he committed only the charge, and not the property, to Peter, as is plain from the following words, '*Whatsoever thou shalt bind and loose upon earth, shall be bound or loosed in heaven:*' not, Whatsoever thou shalt exact on earth shall be exacted in heaven.

"Fourthly, Inasmuch as it is plain from the authority of the Fathers, that the income of Churches is appointed for certain uses, as for the Church, the Ministers, and the poor, it ought not to be turned to other uses but by the authority of the whole Church. Least of all ought the goods of the Church to be taken to maintain war against Christians.

"Fifthly, That the king and nobles of England, by inheritance and good custom, have the right of patronage over the Churches of England; and the Rectors, holding livings under their patronage, cannot admit a custom hurtful to their property without their leave.

"Sixthly, That Churches were endowed, that Rectors might afford hospitality to rich and poor according to their means; and if the intention of patrons is thus frustrated, they will not in future build or found Churches, or be willing to give away livings.

"Seventhly, That the Pope promised, when he first asked for a contribution, never to repeat his demand; and that, as a repeated act makes a custom, this second contribution will be drawn into an unusual and slavish precedent." —CHURTON, pp. 319, 320.

the *meek* and *unassuming* successor of the fisherman, and the last by humbly laying the crown of England at the footstool of the Pope's legate!"

"There was not, however, this pusillanimous submission on the part of the spiritual sons of England.[1] They never, — no, not from the days of St. Paul up to his successors, the English Bishops of this day, — they never yet yielded up the mitre of catholic independence into the hands of the usurping Romans. The Church of Britain was forced, it is true, to bow her head for a time; but her heart was as unbending as the gnarled oaks of her own native forests."

"Dinoth of Bangor is witness; Bishop Daganus is a later witness, for he would not eat at the same table, no, nor in the same house, with these Roman schismatics.[2] The King and Clergy of Northumberland are still later witnesses, for they treated with contempt the papal mandate to restore his deposed Bishop, Wilfrid. And there was the giant arm of Wickliffe raised in later days, and noble was the blow he struck. And when he died in 1384, he bade by his example his followers, the old Catholics of Britain, the members of this Church of the living God, never to cease till their *protestations* terminated in *action*, and they had ejected that schismatic intruder who had placed his foot on their shores in 596.

[1] William of Corboil, a French priest, elevated to the see of Canterbury, contrary to law and custom, and by intrigue, was the first ecclesiastic that attempted to betray the independence of the English Church. Up to this time (1125) the Pope had no jurisdiction in England. The Church was under a head of its own, governed by the king in temporal matters, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury in spiritual. William of Corboil made the primacy of England consist in acting as the Pope's deputy. The Church and nation were far from quietly yielding to his measures. The writers of the time never speak of William of Corboil without expressing contempt for his meanness; and his name became a standing jest in merry old England. "He ought not to be called William of Corboil," says John Bromton, Abbot of Jorval, "but William of Turmoil." "Truly I would speak his praises if I could," says Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, "but they are beyond expression, for no man has yet discovered them." — Churton, pp. 266, 268.

[2] "Nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos veniens non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio, quo vescebamur, sumere voluit." — Bede, L. ii. c. 4.

They never did cease.[1] Wickliffe's followers, known in history under the name of Lollards, kept up the protest which Dinoth of Bangor had raised, and which each succeeding age found bold and faithful spirits to prolong. The stake was prepared for them; but in vain, for they burnt at the stake, yet were true to the Catholic Faith. There is the bloody act of 1399, by which they were burnt, and the names of many of the noble sufferers on whom it took effect; but it all would not do. The flame lighted up Britain: it spread to Smithfield, and added brightness to the death-light of Cranmer and his brother martyrs. It spread till it reached the Continent; and Luther abroad, as well as the Catholics in Britain (Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer), were nerved by the spirit of Wickliffe."

"But now came the time when the old and oppressed Church of Britain was able, as she had all along been *willing*, to eject the *intruding* and hence *schismatic* Church of Rome. Four centuries had witnessed her struggles in vindication of religious freedom; and now in the good providence of God, the day came when the prophetic words of the dying Grostête were to receive their fulfilment, and the Church of England "was set free from the Egyptian bondage" under which she groaned, "by the edge of a blood-stained sword."

"The Bishop of Italy," continues the eloquent divine[2] to whom I am indebted for many of the preceding observations, "the Bishop of Italy, called the Pope, had no more right in Great Britain than he had in these United States of America; and he has about as much right to spiritual supremacy in either, as the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of Pennsylvania has in Italy."

[1] Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sewel, Archbishop of York, may be instanced among many other illustrious examples of resistance to the claims of papal domination. The former, in the close of his letter to the Pope, employs the following strong and emphatic language: "Since the commands I have received are so contrary to the holiness of the Apostolic see, destructive to the souls of men, and against the Catholic Faith, — the very spirit of unity, the love of a son, and the obedience of a subject, command me to rebel." — CHURTON, p. 329.

[2] Rev. William H. Odenheimer, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia.

"When, therefore, the Bishop of Italy sent his messenger, Augustine, in the sixth century, to ask the Catholic Church in Britain to submit to him, and, this being indignantly refused, he in after days *forced* that submission, and by intrigue and treachery usurped her rights, there was no more than sheer justice returned, when the British Church had the power, as she had in the sixteenth century, to eject the intruder, soul and body, and send the writ of ejectment by the hands of her lawful Bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. And this she did orderly, legally, canonically, completely. Ah! the British Church never forgot the year 596, — no, not when her temples were overrun with foreign priests, her altars served by alien hands, and her property devoured by alien mouths. She never forgot that year, though ten centuries had rolled round, during which she could only express her remembrance by strong protestations and ineffectual efforts. She never forgot that year; and when the eighth Henry blotted out the pusillanimity of the second by proclaiming, through the legal voice of the realm, the independence of our mother-land of the Bishop of Rome, methinks the shades of Dinoth, with the other Clergy who met the monk Augustine in the sixth century, the shades of Wickliffe and his martyred followers in the fourteenth century, clustered around Cranmer and his brothers of the sixteenth century, and watched with an English Churchman's interest the royal signature which cancelled forever (God grant it be so!) the foulest blot that ever stained England's cross, political or religious. From that period (the Reformation in the sixteenth century), the Church of the living God, — the Church of St. Paul, — the old British Church, in her purity, in her zeal, faith, and charity, has been the boast and blessing of the land of our fathers. May the fires of Smithfield be again kindled, and her children, to a man, burn and die at the stake, before they yield up the trust of Catholic independence, and suffer the disgrace of England's Church to be told in her submission to a Bishop of Italy!"

From the Church of England, thus rescued from the domination of Rome during the reign of Henry VIII., and again delivered, after a temporary depression, under "the bloody Mary,"

and purified and established in the days of Elizabeth, and once more restored from the desolations which swept like a flood over her under the iron rule of Cromwell the Protector; from this Church, like Israel of old, with Amalekites smiting her in the face and fiery serpents stinging at her feet, but still holding her onward way, ever looking to her glorious Head for guidance and protection; from this Church, the uncompromising asserter of Catholic verity, the acknowledged bulwark of Protestant principles, the dispenser, at this day, through her eighteen thousand Clergymen, of the bread of life to the men of every clime and every complexion; from this Church, upon the labors of whose missionaries the sun never sets, whose zeal the fire cannot destroy nor the floods quench, — from this Church, blessed of God and blessing man, is derived the ministerial authority by which you have been brought into the visible fold of Christ, made members of his "one body," and united to the Ever-living Head. For such grace, mercy, and privilege, God's holy name be ever blessed; and to Him, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honor, praise, and glory, world without end! Amen.

SERMON II.

"But we desire to hear of Thee what Thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against." — Acts xxviii. 22.

Such, brethren, was the reply of the Jews at Rome, to the address of St. Paul, when he was sent a prisoner from Jerusalem to appear before Cæsar. To save his life he had appealed to the highest tribunal known to the laws of the empire, and, after various vicissitudes by land and by sea, at length found himself within the walls of the imperial city. That his cause might not be prejudiced by the clamors of his own countrymen, whom he knew by past experience to be opposed to the religion which he taught, he assembled the chief of the Jews, a few days after his arrival, and stated to them the cause of his coming: namely, that being delivered into the hands of the Romans, though guilty of no crime, and about to be set at liberty because no cause of death was found in him, the Jews nevertheless spake against it; wherefore he was

constrained to appeal unto Cæsar. "Not that I had aught to accuse my nation of," said he: "for this cause therefore have I called for you, to see you, and to speak with you: because that for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain. And they said unto him, We neither received letters out of Judæa concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came showed or spake any harm of thee. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against."

By "this sect," is undoubtedly meant the sect of the Nazarenes, or followers of Jesus Christ. It was the Christian religion as taught by St. Paul and the other Apostles, which everywhere excited the opposition and the enmity of the Jews, and indeed, generally, of all the nations to whom it was first preached. It was a religion of mortification and self-denial, which inculcated internal purity and moral rectitude; a religion that called for the exercise of constant vigilance over the thoughts, no less than a watchful circumspection of the conduct, that rendered it the object of almost universal dislike and aversion. Striking at the roots of temporal ambition, it contradicted the fondly cherished notions of the Jew in reference to national glory and exaltation: hence it was to him a stumbling-block and a stone of offence. Pronouncing of the heathen gods that they were dumb idols, — that the worship offered to them was not only vain, but an abomination to the true God, who would call them into judgment for this perversion of their reason, — it seemed to the Gentile a system of arrogance and presumption, and he rejected it as foolishness. Neither Jew nor Gentile in that age had any relish for the humbling doctrines of the Cross. Its charity was opposed to their pride; its humility seemed to them meanness; its temperance, ingratitude to Providence in not partaking of its bounties; and its glorious promises, as the wild dreams of fanaticism. Its simple rites and worship, giving expression to the devout feelings of the heart, had nothing in them attractive to the unrenewed mind of man, when set in contrast with the imposing ceremonies of the Jewish ritual or the magnificence and pomp and splendor of Roman worship. It can be no cause of wonder, then, that everywhere it

was spoken against. Yet it was the truth of God, and the wisdom of God, and the power of God. Such it has proved itself to be, by eighteen centuries of endurance against the natural hatred of mankind, by dispelling the darkness of ignorance wherever its glorious light has shined upon our earth, and by subduing the understandings of millions to the dominion of truth, and their hearts to the reign of happiness and peace. It would be interesting, brethren, to trace this religion from its implantation in various countries by the labors of the Apostles, and show how it has everywhere encountered opposition, and survived not only the overthrow of kingdoms, states, and empires, but the passing-away of entire races and whole nations of men. It is destined, perhaps, to encounter yet severer trials in its onward progress to universal dominion; but, sure as Heaven's truth, it will put down all opposition, and at last reign without a rival in our world.

But I have selected this text not for the purpose of considering the grounds of opposition to Christianity originally. They present to our minds a very striking analogy in the position which the Church occupies towards the world at the present day, and the character of the opposition which is arrayed against her. It is our purpose to inquire why she is everywhere spoken against, and whether opposition to her is not wilful or blind opposition against Christianity itself.

The first charge brought against the Church is exclusiveness of ministerial authority. If our claims upon the subject of the Ministry be admitted, say those who have separated themselves from our Communion, then they are in schism. But, as there are confessedly a great many pious people who are not Episcopalians, it would be very uncharitable and illiberal to say that they were guilty of schism; and we ought therefore to admit the validity of their orders.

Now, we have stated the objection as it is commonly made; and let us meet it fairly, and take, at the beginning, all the odium which usually attaches to the denial of its force and justice.

We ask, Do piety and learning and gifts, of themselves, impart the power of Orders? It is not so pretended. Why will not a pious man receive the sacraments of a pious man simply because

he is pious or learned, or possessed of aptness to teach? It is answered, Because he has not been ordained. Ordination, then, it is clear, confers authority which is altogether separate and distinct from qualifications for office. Thus we say that a man ought to be pious and learned, and apt to teach, in order to receive ordination, and that he may exercise his ministry profitably and to edification. But he may be ever so pious and learned, and apt to teach, and yet be no Minister. Just so a lawyer may be just and upright, and learned in the law, and yet not be in the office of a judge. Qualification for office is one thing: authority to fill the office and exercise its functions is quite another and different thing.

If ordination, then, confers a power and authority distinct altogether from the qualifications for office, is it unreasonable to ask and to demand the proof, whence that power and authority are derived? Would you permit any man by his decision to divest you of your rights and property, under the name of law, unless you were satisfied that he possessed the power and authority of a judge? And why, then, should you allow any one to minister to you the sacraments of religion, unless convinced that he was invested with ministerial authority? Now, here is the precise line of difference between us and surrounding denominations whose piety and learning, and ability to instruct, we do not deny. We ask, Whence your authority to act as Ministers of religion? Can you show that it is derived from Christ and His Apostles? If this can be shown, there is an end at once, on our part, of all objection to the orders of dissenters; and we are more than ready to receive their ministrations. But, if this cannot be shown, what else is the charge of exclusiveness brought against the Church but a charge against the institution of Christ?

As, then, ordination is necessary to confer ministerial authority, and it is so acknowledged, the question at once arises, How is the power of ordination to be proved? We answer, that originally the authority to act in the name of Christ, in the appointments of religion, was certified to the world by miracles. When the Apostles and other first teachers of Christianity travelled into various countries in fulfilment of the work with which they were charged,

they spake with tongues, they healed the sick, they cast out devils, they raised the dead, and performed other and wonderful works; all of which were conclusive evidence to men that they were commissioned from on high. And at this day, if any one came to us bearing these unquestionable credentials, these impressive marks of Heaven's acknowledgment, there is not one of us that would demand any further proof of his authority. But as these proofs of the ministerial power are no longer vouchsafed, as miracles have long since ceased, how shall the authority of the Christian Ministry be certified and proven in any other way than by showing its transmission from the original root? Fruitful as the mind of man is in devising expedients to meet a difficult case, no other than this method, to prove a succession in the Ministry, has ever been attempted by any, except by those who deny that there is any Ministry at all established for the perpetual edification and government of the Church. But there is a plain, common-sense view to be taken of this subject, which, seems to me, will convince any one of unprejudiced mind, not only that a Ministry was established by Christ, but that it must of necessity have been continued all along to the present day, and will be perpetuated to the end of the world. For, first of all, Christ constituted a Ministry, commissioning the Apostles, before a Church was gathered, before the New Testament or any part of it was written, and before any Christian rite or sacrament was administered. His words to the Apostles are: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach [or, make disciples of] all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."[1]

This declaration that He would be with them to the end of the world conveys an assurance, as definite as language can well express it, of the perpetuity of the Christian Ministry. But, without dwelling on an interpretation which appears sufficiently obvious, we remark that the commission enjoins the performance of positive

[1] St. Matt. xxviii. 18–20.

and explicit duties; namely, to baptize, and teach all things whatsoever He had commanded them. We know most assuredly that the Apostles did baptize, and did administer the Lord's Supper. Were not these sacraments to be of perpetual obligation? Can any doubt that they have been observed in every age of the Christian Church, to the present day? Corrupted as they may have been, and undoubtedly were; overloaded and obscured in their obvious purpose and design as they have been, by the superstitious additions of man's presuming wisdom, — is it not undeniably true, that they have been celebrated in every country where the religion of Christ has been professed, for the last eighteen centuries? Now, what do these facts undeniably establish? Why, that the institution of sacraments pre-supposes the constitution of a Ministry; and the perpetual obligation of the former — that is, sacraments — proves the uninterrupted continuance of the latter. Not a week has passed, we may safely say, since the Ascension, that Baptism or the Lord's Supper has not been celebrated in some part or other of the earth, and consequently not a day has passed without witnessing the existence of a Ministry in the Church. The connection between them is inseparable; and the fact that men have assumed the office of the Ministry proves that the conviction rested upon their minds, that a ministry and sacraments must go together, — that they could not be sundered without impugning the authority and impairing the institution of Christ. Furthermore, the institution of sacraments and the authority to administer them resting simply upon the command of Christ, both necessarily become integral parts of the same revelation. The same Divine power that commissioned a Ministry commanded the observance of sacraments; and both would be utterly destitute of obligation, if they could not be shown to rest upon the declared will of Him to whom all power is given in heaven and earth.

Under this aspect of the case, — that is, the Ministry and sacraments being equally integral parts of revelation, equally of Divine institution, — may not one be altered, changed, or abrogated, with as much show of reason as the other? Might not the pretended necessity which would justify an assumption of the ministerial authority and office, just as well authorize the entire disuse or

abrogation or alteration of the sacraments? I confess, that with every disposition to concede to men distinguished for piety, every thing upon this subject which is not utterly repugnant to the plain declarations of Holy Writ and their unavoidable meaning, I can see no difference between the claims to obedience and submission, of those who undertake to change or dispense with the Ministry, and those who presume to abrogate the sacraments. They must stand or fall together. Consistency has, indeed, forced very many who have denied one, to reject the other. Thus the large and respectable body of Friends, otherwise known as Quakers, have alike repudiated the Ministry and the sacraments of the Gospel, as of binding force and obligation upon the consciences of men. And as a general rule we may observe, that those who undervalue the authority of the Ministry as of Divine institution, make but little account of the sacraments of Christ's religion. They regard them as badges merely of profession, not necessary in any sense to salvation; and are consequently irregular, inconstant, and infrequent in their observance. If it be true, then, that Christ instituted a Ministry and sacraments in his Church; if it be clear that the sacraments are of perpetual obligation, and cannot be dispensed or administered without a standing Ministry; if the authority of the Ministry cannot now be certified by miracles, — it follows inevitably that this Ministry can be known and verified only as proof shall be exhibited that the authority originally delegated by Christ to His Apostles has been transmitted in an uninterrupted succession to those who at this day claim to exercise office in the Christian Church. This is what is termed the Apostolic succession; for maintaining which, the charge of *exclusiveness* is brought against the Church. This is one of the reasons why she "is everywhere spoken against." And yet, strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless demonstrably true, that all those who contend for the institution of a Ministry authorized to act in Christ's name, in the appointments of religion, do adopt identically the same principle.[1]

[1] "Although religion be a concern which equally belongs to every man, yet it has pleased the all-wise Head of the Church to appoint an order of men more particularly to minister in holy things.

"If all the interests of the Church are precious in the view of every

Hear the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church: "Unto this catholic visible Church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world: and doth by His own presence and Spirit, according to His promise, make them effectual thereunto." The same authority sets forth that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are "holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace," appointed by Christ for our "solemn admission into the Church," and for "confirming and sealing our interest in Him;" and they are not to be dispensed by any but by "a Minister of the Word lawfully ordained." Do we inquire who are "lawfully ordained Ministers," according to the same standard? We are informed that "the Presbytery — consisting of all the Ministers, and one ruling elder from each congregation, within a certain district — or any three Ministers, and as many elders as may be present belonging to the Presbytery, — have power to examine and

enlightened Christian, it is evident that the mode of organization cannot be a trivial concern.

"We agree with our Episcopal brethren in believing that Christ hath appointed officers in His Church to preach the Word, to administer sacraments, to dispense discipline, and to commit these powers to other faithful men. We believe as fully as they, that there are different classes and different denominations of officers in the Church of Christ; and that among these there is, and ought to be, a due subordination. We concur with them in maintaining that none are regularly invested with the ministerial character, or can with propriety be recognized in this character, but those who have been set apart to the office by persons lawfully clothed with the power of ordaining. We unite with such of them as hold the opinion, that Christians in all ages are bound to make the Apostolic order of the Church, with respect to the Ministry, as well as other points, the model, as far as possible, of all their ecclesiastical arrangements." — Dr. Miller (professor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Princeton, N.J.).

Next hear Dr. McLeod, another Presbyterian and famous preacher: "*A person who is not ordained to office by a Presbytery has no right to be received as a Minister of Christ;* his administration of ordinances is invalid; no Divine blessing is promised upon his labors: it is rebellion against the Head of the Church to support him in his pretensions: Christ has excluded him, in his providence, from admission through the ordinary door; and if he has no evidence of miraculous power to testify his extraordinary mission, he is an impostor." — McLeod's *Ecclesiastical Catechism.*

license candidates for the holy Ministry; to ordain, install, remove, and judge Ministers." What, then, becomes of the charge of exclusiveness against the Church, if the very same, upon identically the same grounds, may be urged against the Presbyterians, and, indeed, all others who reject Episcopacy, but yet claim the power of ordination as grounded upon the commission of Christ to His Apostles? Let the truth be told, brethren — honestly, openly, fairly. They flinch from the consequences of their declared and published sentiments. Professing a sound *principle* to which the truth of God's Word compels them to subscribe, they *yet deny its application in practice*, because its practical exemplification would involve themselves in the same odious imputation of exclusiveness which they seek to cast upon the Church. To prove this, let us ask the question, Where is the power of ordination lodged in the Church of Christ? They reply, *In a council of Presbyters.* Who lodged it there? *The Apostles, acting under the authority of Christ, and guided by his Holy Spirit*, say they. Now, what is the inevitable conclusion from those positions? Why, that none others than those Presbyterially ordained are lawful Ministers of Christ. There is no escape from this conclusion; for the Apostles did not institute two modes of ordination, or leave the matter opened and unsettled by their practice. With them there was but one Church, but one source of power and authority in it, and but one Ministry. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all."[1] If Presbyterial ordination be the institution of God, Episcopal ordination must be of man. They cannot both be of Divine authority, and consequently one or the other must be without just claims to the obedience of men. If the former, prove it by Scripture and the voice of antiquity, and we surrender Episcopacy upon the spot.

But that cannot be done, my brethren. The Bible must be changed, and the writings of the Fathers must be changed, before it can be shown that Presbyterianism is of God and Episcopacy

[1] Eph. iv. 4–6.

of man. The challenge of the judicious Hooker has remained unanswered some hundreds of years past, and is likely to continue so some thousands of years to come. "A very strange thing, sure, it were," he remarks, "that such a discipline as ye [the Puritans] speak of should be taught by Christ and His Apostles in the Word of God, and no Church ever have found it out nor received it until this present time: contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed everywhere, throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no Church ever perceiving the Word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by Episcopal regimen, since the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant. Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the Church had observed the self-same orders which you require; and as though your desire were that the Churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even glasses wherein we might see the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion's sake only; for ye complain of it, as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of government in any of those times that have been before."

Let those who reject Episcopacy meet this demand if they can; let them trace a succession of ordinations by Presbyteries, if they deem such a thing possible: and so far from charging them with exclusiveness, we will give up our own system, and adopt theirs.

In the mean time let it not be forgotten, that the assumption which they make — namely, that Presbyterial ordination has the authority of Scripture and the sanction of primitive practice to uphold it — carries with it all the odious features which it is attempted to impress upon the claims of Episcopacy. If a council of Presbyters only are invested with ordaining power, then ordination by a congregation is invalid, and this throws the Independents, or Congregationalists, and the whole body of Baptists, into schism; not only so, it determines against the validity of ordination by a Bishop, in whom alone the ordaining power resides

according to our system, and consequently cuts off both Episcopalians and Methodists. Thus it is plain that the Presbyterial system is, to all intents and purposes, as exclusive as any other. It is obliged to be so, my friends, in the very nature of things; for as Christ founded but one Church, and committed to it the ministry of reconciliation, — that ministry, whether constituted after the model of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, or Episcopacy, necessarily excludes all others. The grand question for us all to determine is, What was the form of government established in the primitive Church? was it Congregational, Presbyterial, or Episcopal? Shall we appeal to Scripture? We read of Apostles, Elders, and Deacons; and it is agreed that these orders made up the Ministry of the Church in the days of the Apostles. We do not find mention once made of ordination by a congregation or by a council of Presbyters: on the contrary, everywhere the ministerial authority is conferred expressly by the laying-on of the hands of the Apostles, — not only of the twelve, but of Paul and Barnabas, of Timothy and Titus. One single, solitary passage occurs where the laying-on of the hands of the Presbytery is mentioned.[1] And even in that case we do not know that an ordination was referred to. But, granting that it was an ordination, it seems that the presence and action of an Apostle was necessary to give it validity. For St. Paul, referring to the transaction, let the authority imparted by it be what it may, says expressly it was by the putting-on of his hands (2 Tim. i. 6).

[1] "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying-on of the hands of the presbytery" (1 Tim. iv. 14).

In answer to the Presbyterian gloss on these words, we say, The word *Presbytery* does not necessarily signify a body of Presbyters, properly so called. It is as justly applicable to a council of Apostles; for every Apostle was in virtue of his office a Presbyter, but it by no means follows that every Presbyter was an Apostle. Every Governor of the State is *ex-officio* a Trustee of our University, but every Trustee is not therefore Governor of the State.

But let us see how ancient and wise men understood the term *Presbytery* as here used by St. Paul.

St. Chrysostom says, "*He* [*St. Paul*] *does not here speak of Presbyters, but Bishops; for Presbyters do not ordain a Bishop.*" Theodoret: "*In this*

To meet the arguments of Episcopalians upon this subject, drawn from the plain warrant of Scripture and the undoubted practice of the primitive Church, it is alleged that the Apostles were extraordinary officers, and could have no successors; and that, after their decease, the government of the Church necessarily devolved upon presbyters. All this ought to be proven. We cannot consent to take mere assertion for argument. We may say, however, in passing, that neither Barnabas, nor Silas, nor Junias, nor Andronicus, nor Timothy, nor Titus, appears to have exercised any extraordinary powers, or to have been extraordinary officers; and yet are they called Apostles, and some of them we know exercised the power of ordination, and governed the Church.

Again: those who reject Episcopacy say that it was introduced by little and little about the beginning of the second century, so that before the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, it was generally prevalent, and after that time was universal till the era of the Reformation. "A very strange matter, if it were true," says Archbishop Bancroft, "that Christ should erect a form of government for the ruling of His Church, to continue from his departure out of the world until His coming again, and that the same should never be thought of or put in practice for the space of fifteen hundred years; or, at least, that the government and kingdom of Christ should then be overthrown, when by all men's confessions, the divinity of His person, the virtue of his priesthood, the power of his office as He is a prophet, and the honor of His kingly authority was so godly, so learnedly, and so mightily established against the Arians in the Council of Nice, as that the confession of the Christian faith,

place he calls those Presbyters (i.e., old men) who had received the grace of the Apostleship." Theophylact: "*That is, of Bishops; for Presbyters do not ordain a Bishop.*" Others, as Jerome, Ambrose, and, last but not least, John Calvin, maintain that the term *Presbytery* refers to the office to which Timothy was then ordained, and interpret the passage thus: "Neglect not the gift of the presbytery or priesthood that is in thee, which was given by prophecy and the laying-on of hands."

Lastly, hear St. Paul's explanation of his own words: "*Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands*" (2 Tim. i. 6).

then set forth, hath ever since without contradiction been received in the Church."

Strange indeed that so wonderful a change in the form of Church government, as that denoted by Episcopacy from parity, should take place, and no record be made of the fact, — no detail of the circumstances by which it was effected be mentioned by so much as one writer. Strange beyond the power of explanation, that light and trivial matters about which Christians then differed should find a place in the annals of those times, and yet the wonderful revolution from the Presbyterial to the Episcopal mode of government pass utterly unnoticed. So early as the time of Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna and the disciple of St. John, the whole Christian world was agitated by the question, on what day should Easter be observed? and Polycarp journeyed all the way from Asia to Rome to adjust the difference. Can we really think that such things would form matters of grave discussion, and the introduction of Episcopacy pass unheeded? When people make such demands of us, they must ask us to lay aside the common sense and understanding of men.

"When I shall see," says the learned Chillingworth, "all the fables in the metamorphosis acted, and proved true stories; when I shall see all the democracies and aristocracies in the world lie down and sleep, and awake into monarchies, — then will I begin to believe that Presbyterial government, having continued in the Church during the Apostles' time, should presently after (against the Apostles' doctrine and the will of Christ) be whirled about like a scene in a mask, and transformed into Episcopacy. In the mean time, while these things remain thus incredible, and in human reason impossible, I hope I shall have leave to conclude thus: Episcopal government is acknowledged to have been universally received in the Church, presently after the Apostles' times."

"Between the Apostles' times and this presently after, there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration."

"And, therefore, there was no such alteration as is pretended. And, therefore, Episcopacy, being confessed to be so ancient and catholic, must be granted also to be Apostolic."

Perhaps enough has now been said to show that there is no just

ground of complaint against the Church because of her exclusiveness; since she occupies, in this respect, the same position with others. If to be built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone, be to render us exclusive, let it be even so. We cannot help it. We dare not undertake to amend or alter that which Divine wisdom has ordained and appointed.

It gives me no pleasure, I am sure, to show the points of difference between ourselves and other denominations. I would that we were perfectly joined together in the same mind and judgment, and that we all spake the same things. But when points of difference are misunderstood, and especially when they are misrepresented, silence on my part would be an unworthy abandonment of known obligations, — would be a criminal indifference to the prevalence of error, and a disregard of your most important and dearest interests. I have no sympathy, and I hope you have none, with that mawkish sensibility which fears the honest declaration of the truth lest it make others feel unpleasant. I have no respect for that pretended liberality of opinion, which, under the name of charity, will embrace all professions of Christianity as equally sound branches of the one Catholic Church of Christ, and will cast into the shade all distinctive principles as non-essential and of minor consequence. Christianity, brethren, "rejoiceth in the truth," as well as "hopeth all things, and endureth all things." And while we dare not pronounce upon the character of those who follow unscriptural and erroneous systems; while we leave them to the just and righteous judgment of that God before whom we must all stand at last, — it is nevertheless our duty to show them their error, to lead them to embrace the truth, and by all proper means aid them to attain eternal life.

Having, therefore, made a beginning upon this subject, I shall, God being my helper, go into it thoroughly, and leave nothing untouched as to the order, doctrine, and worship of the Church, which may conduct you to a correct understanding of her principles and your own correspondent privileges and duties. And, if I succeed in this, I know the necessary effect will be to inspire you with increasing reverence for the institutions which God has estab-

lished, and with a deeper sense of gratitude to that good Providence which has wrought wondrously and mercifully for you, and brought you into connection with His Holy Church.

SERMON III.

"But we desire to hear of Thee what Thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against." — Acts xxviii. 22.

It is not a little remarkable, that in the assaults made upon Christianity, both in ancient and modern times, the chief point of attack has ever been the Ministry of the Church. The reason is plain. Every system which proposes to teach men their duty in what most nearly concerns them, must have defenders. And this is more especially necessary in a case where the instructions delivered are professedly based upon the expression of the Divine will. If there were not an order of men set for the defence of the Gospel, it would very soon cease to exert any influence, and, like other systems, sink into oblivion, from the attacks of its enemies, and from the indifference of mankind to whatever does not in some way subserve their present interests. This must be apparent enough to any one who has been observant of the prevailing tone of moral feeling in those communities where the Gospel is seldom or never preached, and in those countries where its truths are much obscured and its doctrines much corrupted. The principles of Christianity impose a check upon the passions of men, and thus offer a restraint to those pursuits in which their passions lead them to engage. Its present rewards are not attractive to the unrenewed mind of man, while its promises are for the most part future and distant. Hence its sanctions are of that awful and impressive character which the Bible addresses to our natural and instinctive fears, warning us of a judgment to come, and the solemn retributions of eternity; and hence it uses the language of authority.

It was doubtless from a wise foresight of the proneness of the human mind to become engrossed with "temporal things," to the exclusion and neglect of the "things that are eternal," that God established His Church, having in it appointments to keep alive the remembrance of our future accountability and most important

interests; and committed to it the Ministry of reconciliation, charged with the special duty of rousing men, by warning and rebuke, from the slumbers of a careless and unreflecting life, and of quickening them in the pursuit of a heavenly crown by holding up to their view the glorious rewards of eternity.

That God did establish His Church in the world, admits of no more question than that He made a revelation to mankind. That He appointed a Ministry in that Church, deriving their authority to act in the appointments of religion from Him, is equally plain and certain. That this authority, whatever it be, is delegated, no one will deny. By *delegated authority*, I mean, of course, authority to act in the name of another. It is authority in opposition to that which is assumed. And that no one is allowed to assume such authority in the name of God, is manifest from the whole recorded history of the Divine dispensations, as well as clear from express declarations of Holy Writ. "No man taketh this honor to himself," says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "but he that is called of God as was Aaron." "So also Christ glorified not Himself to be made an high priest; but He that said unto Him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee."[1] Such a declaration, enforced by the reference to the illustrious examples mentioned by the Apostle in confirmation of its truth, must settle forever the question whether the ministerial authority may be assumed or not; it must forever stamp the seal of reprobation upon all assumptions of the Ministry without warrant. Dr. McKnight, a learned Presbyterian divine of the Church of Scotland, in his celebrated work on the Epistles, has these words: "The account of the designation, character, and office of an high priest, the Apostle applies to Messiah, by observing, that as in the Gospel Church no man can take the dignity of an high priest to himself, but only the person who is called to the office by God, like Aaron in the Jewish Church, — so the Christ did not, by his own authority, assume the office of high priest in the house of God; but He bestowed that dignity upon Him, who declared him *His Son*, by raising Him from the dead." Aaron was set apart and consecrated

[1] Heb. v. 4, 5.

to the priesthood, — he and his sons, — after an open and public manner, according to the express command of God, by Moses. His consecration was the visible and declared designation to the office to which God had called him and his family. And when afterwards Korah and his company assumed to themselves the same office, and undertook to offer incense to the Lord, upon the alleged plea that all the congregation were holy, God interposed in a singular and awful manner for their punishment; and commanded a memorial to be made, to be a token to the children of Israel through their generations, that no one who was not of the seed of Aaron should come near to offer incense before the Lord, — that is, to execute the office of priesthood, — "lest he perish as did Korah and his company."[1] As Aaron was publicly called to his office, so was Christ; for it was not until His baptism in Jordan, and the voice which came from God proclaiming Him to be His beloved Son, that Jesus began His public ministry.

Whatever, then, be the piety, the righteousness, and the learning of any man, they do not in themselves confer the power of office, however necessary they may be to the proper discharge of its duties. There are doubtless many men in our country qualified to fill the office of ambassador to foreign courts: yet no one is competent to fill the station, unless he have received the requisite grant of authority to do so from the President and Senate. His knowledge and talents, be they ever so great, will not be taken as his credentials to act as the representative of the government. Neither will his declaration cause him to be received as the nation's accredited agent. In short, he must present his commission; and when that is received, his acts, whether he possess learning and skill in diplomacy or not, are valid and binding to the full extent, letter, and spirit of his instructions.

Just so there are many possessed of high and eminent qualifications, by reason of their piety, knowledge, and other gifts, to act as ambassadors of Christ. Still these talents, however essential to the efficiency of the Ministry, do not any more make one a Minister of Christ's religion than knowledge and skill make another

[1] Num. xvi.

minister to a foreign court. The commission, or authentic letter of authority, derived from the true and proper source of power, in both cases, is indispensable to give validity to ministerial acts. In either instance, the minister acts not in his own name, but in the name of another. He is an agent, and must act according to the tenor of given and prescribed instructions. The message which he bears may be most unpleasant to deliver: but it is not his own, but His who sends him; and he must deliver it even in the terms in which he received it, or prove faithless to his trust. Unless these things be so, brethren, the government which God has established in his kingdom on earth — called the Church — is less certain in its provisions, less definite in its objects, less wise in its appointments, less fixed in its arrangements, and less sure in its results, than the institutions of men. Once make the Church the mere figment of man's creation; once regard it in the light only of a human contrivance, and subject to the alteration or amendment of man's presuming wisdom, in any of its original and essential features, — and all vitality is gone from its laws, all authority from its enactments, all confidence from its promises, and all the assurance of heavenly hope from the participation of its ordinances. It becomes the frail and tottering fabric of man's caprice, built up of "hay and stubble," and doomed to "suffer loss" when proved by the purifying fires of God's truth. Such is not the Church of God, built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. Such is not the holy citadel of faith, hope, and charity, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. "Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces." "As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish it forever." Thus sang David, under the law; and if his words, inspired by the Holy Ghost, were true of Jerusalem or Zion, the type of the Christian Church, how much more shall they not be thought applicable in every respect to that which St. Paul calls the "house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth!"[1]

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 15.

In these views, perhaps, we shall all be found to agree. None will deny the authority and perpetuity of Christ's Church; none will question the fact that the Christian Ministry is a purely delegated power, deriving its authority alone from God. If any deny this last position, we leave him to settle the point with St. Paul, who says, "As we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak; not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts."[1] And again, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God."[2] Language of the like import abounds in the New Testament. "The glorious gospel of the blessed God, which," says St. Paul, "was committed to my trust."[3] "So account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. Moreover it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful."[4] "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God."[5] "Seeing we have this ministry, we faint not."[6] "All things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation."[7] "I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry."[8] "Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it."[9] "Make full proof of thy ministry."[10] Thus, by whatever terms office in the Church is described, — whether trust, ambassadorship, stewardship, or ministry, — we are at once reminded of its delegated character, and that great and solemn responsibility, from the very nature, design, and authority of the charge, attaches to its management.

Indeed, it seems wonderful that any other view should ever have been taken of this subject, and that the idea should have been entertained that the Ministry was not to be perpetuated as originally constituted in the New Testament. For when we open that little volume, and inquire into the character of Christ's religion, we are met at the outset by the information that the Gospel is to be preached to all nations, and that its institutions are to run

[1] 1 Thess. ii. 4. [2] 2 Cor. v. 20. [3] 1 Tim. i. 11. [4] 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.
[5] 2 Cor. vi. 4. [6] 2 Cor. iv. 1. [7] 2 Cor. v. 18. [8] 1 Tim. i. 12.
[9] Col. iv. 17. [10] 2 Tim. iv. 5.

coeval with its propagation and extension, even to the end of the world. We read that sacraments were ordained of Christ, and were to be observed by all those in all places where the faith was embraced. Has not this religion come down even to us? Have not its sacraments been administered for the last eighteen centuries, wherever faith in the Saviour has been proclaimed and received? By whom, brethren, has this faith been preached, and these sacraments been duly administered? There can be but one answer to these questions. We must say, By the Ministry. The Church sacraments and Ministry thus become witnesses to the truth of Christ's religion. During the darkest period of the world's history, when the light of God's truth shone dimly, when the doctrine of Christ was most obscured by the traditions of men, and when corruptions most marred the fair form of Christianity under papal misrule and usurpation, still the Church sacraments and Ministry existed, and gave united testimony to the world that Jesus had died, and that through His name salvation was yet assured to the hope of perishing man. The great facts upon which the doctrine of redemption is founded have thus been preserved to the world, and would be again, should darkness once more cover the earth, and gross darkness the people.

It is not denied by any, so far as I know, that Christ, after his resurrection, and previous to his ascension into heaven, commissioned the eleven Apostles to gather his Church, and settle its order and government. During the last forty days of His continuance upon earth, we are told, He came to them from time to time, giving them commandments, and "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God."[1] It is not to be supposed in reason, then, that they were left in ignorance as to the extent of their powers, or as to the order of administration which Christ would have established in His Church. Still less is this supposition reasonable when we remember that the Apostles were under the guidance of that Holy Spirit which was to lead them into all truth, and to bring to their remembrance all things whatsoever that Jesus had said unto them. In fulfilment of their trust, it is

[1] Acts. i. 3.

certain that they in a public manner ordained Matthias in the place of Judas, and "he was numbered with the eleven Apostles."[1] Equally clear and certain is it that others, as Paul and Barnabas and Silas, and Timothy and Titus and James, were called Apostles, and that they exercised the powers of Apostles in governing the Church, and in ordaining to the holy Ministry. These, therefore, according to the express language of Scripture, constituted the first or highest order of the Gospel Ministry. The testimony is equally direct and conclusive as to the constitution of the *second* and *third* orders of the Ministry; viz., the order of Elders, Bishops, or Presbyters, as they are interchangeably[2] termed in the New Testament, and the order of deacons. These are the orders of the Christian Ministry as unquestionably established in the days of the Apostles. The testimony of the New

[1] Acts i. 26.

[2] It is freely admitted by Episcopalians, that these terms are thus interchangeably used in the New Testament. The admission is improved into an argument in the hands of the opponents of Episcopacy, who most preposterously argue from a community of names to a community in rank or order. The fallacy of the argument has been too frequently exposed to need repetition here. But it may nevertheless be useful to subjoin the testimonies of Theodoret and Isidore on this subject, who lived in the fifth century, and whose evidence in the case will probably be considered, by the "wise and prudent," conclusive.

Theodoret: "Epaphroditus was called the Apostle of the Philippians, because he was intrusted with the Episcopal government, as being their Bishop. For those now called Bishops were anciently called Apostles; but in process of time the name of Apostle was left to those who were truly Apostles, and the name of Bishop was restrained to those who were anciently called Apostles: thus Epaphroditus was the Apostle of the Philippians, Titus of the Cretans, and Timothy of the Asiatics."

Isidore: "The Bishops succeeded the Apostles: they were constituted through the whole world in the place of the Apostles." Isidore then says that "Aaron the High Priest was what a Bishop is, and Aaron's sons prefigured the Presbyters."

Mosheim, who will not be suspected of any undue partiality towards Episcopacy, says of Isidore, the Bishop of Pelusium, "He was a man of uncommon learning and sanctity. A great number of his epistles are yet extant, and discover more piety, genius, erudition, and wisdom than are to be found in the voluminous productions of many other writers."

Testament is silent as to any other order of administration. Its Canon closes with this arrangement; and if any change or alteration of this order was made, the evidence of it must be sought for elsewhere than in the records of inspiration. The assertions, therefore, that Christ and His Apostles left no specific directions as to the order and government of the Church, and that the whole subject was left open to the exigences of times and occasions, are wholly gratuitous, utterly destitute of proof, and flatly contradicted by the fact that Christ continued forty days with the Apostles, giving them commandments, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; and by the fact, also, that the Apostles did admit others into their number, and did ordain presbyters and deacons. The obscurity, and lack of precision, which some men allege to be thrown around the order and government of the Apostolic Church, are nothing short of empty pretences, and are about as available to excuse their irregularities and schisms, as the alleged mysteries of faith are to excuse the indifference and sin of unbelief.

The threefold constitution of the Ministry as above stated, composed of Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons in their respective orders, we hold to be the form of Church government as clearly defined in the New Testament. As it was established by Divine authority, and undeniably continued till the Canon, and of course the testimony of Sacred Scripture, was closed, we are compelled to regard it as of perpetual obligation, and unchangeable, until authority can be shown to alter it.[1]

If we would inquire as to the powers which these three orders exercised respectively, we must look at their commissions and at their acts. As to the Apostles, we find that thirteen of them were special witnesses of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. They were chosen for that specific purpose, and so far could have no successors. For the idea of witnesses having successors carries absurdity on its very face. They may be contemporaneous witnesses to the same matters of fact; as the five hundred brethren

[1] Archbishop Whately's preposterous concessions upon this point to the contrary notwithstanding.

who saw Christ after his resurrection, on a mountain in Galilee, were, with the Apostles then present, witnesses of one and the same fact. But to bear testimony to the resurrection of Christ was not the only duty with which the Apostles were charged. If we turn to their commission, we shall see that they were specially charged to preach the gospel to all nations, and to baptize them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Accordingly we find, in tracing the history of their acts, that they not only testified that Christ was raised from the dead, but also preached, and baptized for the remission of sins, and that they ordained others to the performance of the like offices. They, or at least a portion of them, possessed also the power of conferring the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost by the imposition of their hands. Some of them also were endowed with the spirit of prophecy. In these things, then, — as witnesses of the resurrection of Christ, as prophets, as bestowers of miraculous gifts, — their office was extraordinary; and as such they had no successors.

But it is remarkable, that, in the commission given to the Apostles, — which was antecedent to the Day of Pentecost when they received the gift of the Holy Ghost, — no reference is made to their extraordinary powers. The tenor of their commission, as recorded by St. Matthew and St. John, runs thus: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."[1] "Then said Jesus to them again," are the words of St. John, "Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."[2]

These last words, respecting the power of remitting and retaining sins, are generally understood as conveying the power of discipline, — of inflicting and removing Church censures; a power

[1] St. Matt. xxviii. 18–20. [2] St. John xx. 21–23.

claimed and exercised by all denominations to this extent, and indeed indispensable to the preservation of purity and order in any society whatever.

The commission of the Apostles sets forth that they are to preach, to baptize, and to exercise discipline. And certainly, so far at least, no one will deny that they may and ever have had successors in office. But the commission, as recorded by both the Evangelists, clearly indicates that they were invested with yet higher powers. Besides making disciples of all nations, — which is regarded as a more correct rendering than *teaching all nations*, — and baptizing them, they are furthermore to teach them to observe all things whatsoever Christ had commanded. Now, as these things, whatever they were, are not specifically set forth in the commission itself, it seems reasonable to conclude that we must search for them in what the Apostles taught and in what they did. They have recorded what they taught, and what they did also, — at least, to a sufficient extent, we must suppose, to furnish the man of God thoroughly unto every good word and work. And among the things which they did, acting under Christ's commission, we know that they ordained to the Ministry; and in so doing, not only established a precedent for those whom they thus ordained, to do as they had done, but moreover gave express directions to that end. "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses," says St. Paul to Timothy, "the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."[1]

The words of St. John, in recording the grant of authority to the Apostles, convey the idea of still more ample powers. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" and then breathing on them said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." Whatever may be made out of these words, no one will deny that this much at least is certain, that Christ invests His Apostles with full power and authority to settle the order and administer the affairs of His kingdom on earth. Whatever, then, they taught and commanded in pursuance of this object, we hold to be binding upon the consciences of all believers. That they ordained Elders, is not denied;

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 2.

that these Elders ministered in the Church, in subordination to a higher order of the Ministry called Apostles, is as clear as any other fact recorded in the sacred writings; that not a single instance of the Elders exercising the power of ordination has ever been clearly made out, is just as certain as that the higher or apostolic order did exercise that power. That the Apostles ordained Deacons, is admitted; that these Deacons both preached and baptized, and so far were Ministers, stands as plainly recorded in the Acts of the Apostles as any thing else to be read therein. Here, then, brethren, in the Ministry of the Church thus constituted of Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons, is that Episcopacy for which we contend as the order established by Divine wisdom in Christ's kingdom on earth. Christ said He would be with the Apostles "always, even unto the end of the world." Are we to suppose, then, that the Apostles left the Church destitute of a Ministry; that they left the whole body of believers throughout the world, in Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Corinth, and a hundred other places where they had planted the faith of the Gospel, in an unorganized state, — left them to choose a Ministry, and ordain them from among themselves, to define their powers, and settle the limits of their jurisdiction? Such a supposition lies not within the boundaries of the most extravagant credulity. It would be an example without precedent in the history of man. It was a thing plainly impossible from the very nature of the Christian institution, having ordinances to be administered, and, by necessary consequence, requiring an order of men for that purpose, invested with power and authority to perpetuate the office of administration. And accordingly the very first witnesses that present themselves to our examination, after the writers of the New Testament had passed off the stage of action; witnesses, some of whom saw and conversed with the Apostles, and labored with them in their ministry; witnesses upon whom we are obliged to rely to prove the authenticity and genuineness of the New Testament, — these witnesses testify, with one voice, that the Ministry of the Church in their day was constituted after the model of the Apostolic age; that *they* did not establish it after the form or order in which it existed among them, but that they had so received it from the Apostles themselves. To

illustrate the value of these witnesses, let us ask, How know we that the book called the New Testament was written in the age of the Apostles and by the disciples of Christ? Thomas Paine asserts that it was written three hundred years later. How do we meet this bold and unblushing assertion of infidelity? Simply by referring to the writings of the Fathers of the first three centuries. They make mention of the Gospels of the New Testament, and of other portions of the same work, and quote passages from it. Is their testimony, then, good and sufficient to settle the simple question of fact, whether the New Testament was in existence in their respective ages, or not? If yea, then why is not the same testimony equally available to settle the question of fact, as to what was the order of the Christian Ministry? Let us hear them speak for themselves. We begin with Clement of Rome, whom St. Paul commends as his fellow-laborer in his Epistle to the Philippians. He wrote about forty years after our Lord's death, and during the lifetime of St. John.

He says, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians,[1] "*The apostles, preaching through countries and cities, appointed the first-fruits of their conversions to be bishops and ministers over such as should afterwards believe.*" "*The apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there should contentions arise concerning the episcopal name (or order); and for this cause, having perfect foreknowledge* (of these things), *they did ordain those whom we have mentioned before; and, moreover, did establish the constitution, that other approved men should succeed those who died in their office and ministry.*" "*To the high priest, his proper offices were appointed; the priests had their proper order, and the levites their peculiar services or deaconships; and the laymen, what was proper for laymen.*" This St. Clement applies to the distribution of orders in the Christian Church, — Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

Such is the plain, unequivocal, and decisive testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical writer whose works have reached us, next after the Apostles, — a writer who was himself chosen by the Apostles, and appointed to preside as Bishop over one of the Churches which they had planted.

[1] See Oxford edition, 1677, sect. 42, p. 89.

The next witness we produce is Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 71. He was constituted Bishop of Antioch by the Apostles then living; and wrote Epistles to various Churches, while on his journey to Rome, in which he exhorts the inferior Ministers, Presbyters, and Deacons to be in subjection to their Bishop. He sealed the truth of his religion by suffering martyrdom; being thrown to wild beasts at Rome, by order of Trajan, less than ten years after the death of St. John, or about A.D. 107.

To the Ephesians, after speaking of their "excellent Bishop Onesimus," he thus writes; "*For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is sent by the will of the Father; as the bishops, appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ.*"

To the Magnesians: "*I exhort you that you study to do all things in a divine concord; your bishop presiding in the place of God, your presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles; and your deacons most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ.*" Such language partakes largely, you perceive, of the hyperbolical style of the Orientals. We are quoting Ignatius, you will remember, not to settle the point of reverence and dignity due to the Ministry, but to show the fact stated, that the Ministry consisted of three orders. In this same epistle he mentions by name, the Bishop Damas, the Presbyters Bassus and Apollonias, and the Deacon Sotia.

To the Trallians: "*Let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ, and the bishop as the Father, and the presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God and college of the apostles: he that does any thing without the bishop and presbyters and deacons is not pure in his conscience.*"

To the Philadelphians: "*To those who were in unity with their bishop and presbyters and deacons: there is one bishop with his presbyters, and the deacons my fellow servants. Give heed to the bishop and to the presbytery and to the deacons: do nothing without the bishop.*"

To the Smyrnians, over whom Polycarp the disciple of St. John presided as bishop: "*See that ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ did the Father; and the presbyters as the apostles; and reverence the deacons as the command of God. My soul be security*

for them that submit to their bishop with their presbyters and deacons."

Is it possible for any intelligent and sound mind to read these quotations, and come to any other conclusion than that there were three orders — Bishops, Priests, and Deacons — in the Christian Ministry in the age of Ignatius? If his words prove any thing, they undoubtedly show that in the first century the Christian Church was Episcopally constituted; that the three orders of the Ministry were regarded as of Divine institution, and considered necessary to the regular constitution of every Church.

We next cite Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna. In his Epistle to the Philippians he says, "*Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him, to the Church of God which is at Philippi,*" etc. "*The deacons must be blameless as the ministers of God in Christ, and not of men;*" "*being subject to the priests and deacons; and let the elders be compassionate, and merciful towards all.*" Here again is direct evidence against that parity which opposes itself to Episcopacy.

We come to the second century; and here we find Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, and Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 180, using the succession of Bishops from the Apostles as an argument against heretics. He says, "*We can reckon up those whom the apostles ordained to be bishops in the several churches, and who they were that succeeded them down to our time.*" *And he proceeds to give us the succession from the Apostles down to Eleutherius, the twelfth in order, who was Bishop of Rome when Irenæus wrote.* Clement of Alexandria, the contemporary of Irenæus, enumerates the three several and distinct orders, with their respective offices. His words are, "*There are some precepts which relate to presbyters, others which belong to bishops, and others respecting deacons.*"

Tertullian, a celebrated presbyter of the Church in Africa, lived at the close of the second and in the fore-part of the third century. He testifies that Bishops were settled in his native land, and had been so from the earliest introduction of the Gospel into the country. Writing against heretics, he says, "*Let them show the order of their bishops, that, by their succession deduced from the beginning, we may see whether their first bishop had any of*

the apostles or apostolical men, who did likewise persevere with the apostles, for his founder and predecessors: for thus the apostolical churches do derive their succession, as the church of Smyrna from Polycarp, whom John the apostle placed there; the church of Rome from Clement," etc.

Speaking of baptism, Tertullian says, "*The bishop has the power of conferring baptism, and under him the presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop.*"

Origen, another famous presbyter of the same age, in his comment on the Lord's Prayer, has these words: "*There is a debt due to deacons, another to presbyters, and another to bishops, which is the greatest of all, and exacted by the Saviour of the whole church, and who will severely punish the non-payment of it.*"

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 240. From the writings of this illustrious Father, we might compile a volume upon the subject before us. He expressly refers the constitution of the Ministry in the orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, to the will of Christ and the Apostles.

Ep. xlv. to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome: "*We ought chiefly, my brother, to endeavor to keep that unity which was enjoined by our Lord and his apostles to us their successors, to be carefully observed by us.*"

Ep. lxvi. to Florentius: "*Christ said to the apostles, and by that, to all Bishops or governors of his church who succeed the Apostles by vicarious ordination, and are in their stead, 'He that heareth you heareth me.'*"

Ep. lxxx. Successio: "*Valerian (the emperor) wrote to the Senate, that the Bishops and the Presbyters and the Deacons should be prosecuted.*"

Optatus Milevitanus, A.D. 365, Bishop of Mileve, or Mela, in Africa: "*The church has her several members, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and the company of the faithful.*"

"*You found in the church, deacons, presbyters, bishops; you have made them laymen; acknowledge that you have subverted souls.*" L. 2, *Con. Parmenianum.*

If the time allowed, we might quote from Ambrose of Milan, A.D. 370; Jerome, A.D. 380; St. Augustine, A.D. 420; and

many others both before and after them, — particularly Eusebius, A.D. 320, the first ecclesiastical historian, and who has given us catalogues of the Bishops by name, in the order of their succession, in all the principal Churches from the Apostles down to his time. They all testify to the threefold constitution of the Ministry, and the authority of Bishops to ordain and to govern the Church. We might quote from that very ancient work, certainly existing in the third century, called the Apostolic Canons,[1] to prove the same thing; from the decrees of councils, in ages when the faith, doctrine, and order of the Gospel were confessedly kept pure by the great body of the faithful. We might travel along down the stream of time, through all the adverse and prosperous conditions of the Church, — when oppressed, and when protected; when maintaining purity of doctrine and practice, and when introducing and sanctioning corruptions, — and all along we shall find an accumulation of evidence to the fact we have been laboring to establish, that Episcopacy was the settled order and government of the Church. We might cite abundant authorities, even the most learned and distinguished of those who have rejected Episcopacy, to show that from the second century down to the sixteenth it was of universal prevalence in the Christian Church. We might bring forward the Lutherans, Calvin, Beza, Melanchthon, and others, to prove not only the lawfulness of Episcopacy,[2] but the lamentable necessity which some of them pleaded to justify their formation of another and different system of Church government. But what would it all avail? Men of this age have become wiser than the Apostles, the Fathers, and the Reformers; wiser and holier than those who sealed their testimony to Christ's truth, and their fidelity to His cause with their blood; and they ask, What are all your proofs worth? The succession is incapable of proof, or it

[1] "The *Apostolic Canons* are eighty-five ecclesiastical laws, or rules, professedly enacted by the Apostles, and collected and preserved by Clemens Romanus. The matter of them is ancient; for they describe the customs and institutions of Christians, particularly of the Greek and Oriental Churches, in the second and third centuries. But the phraseology indicates a compiler living in the third century." — MURDOCH'S MOSHEIM, vol. i. p. 224, v. 13. (New Haven, 1832.)

[2] See Appendix A.

has been broken, or it has been vitiated and rendered worthless by the corruption of those through whose hands it has come! Let us, then, meet them on these grounds, and consider these their strong reasons.

1. The succession is incapable of proof. Is the testimony of Clement, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, and others, sufficient to prove the authenticity and uncorrupted preservation of the books of the New Testament in their respective ages? Then why is their testimony to be rejected when it equally proves the establishment and universal prevalence of Episcopacy? Is the New Testament to be rejected because you cannot show by direct and positive evidence that it was in existence every year since it was written? Then why is Episcopacy to be repudiated, unless you prove its existence every single year, by positive proof, since the death of the Apostles? But copies of the New Testament were multiplied very soon, and spread over the world, and most carefully guarded against alteration. And so Bishops were multiplied as the faith of the Gospel spread; and their office was neither sought after, because it was the post of chief danger in times of persecution, and in this state the Church was till 320; and the office itself was most carefully fenced by canons against intrusion into it, or unwarrantable assumption of its powers. The first of the Apostolical Canons reads, "Let a Bishop be consecrated by two or three Bishops."

Now, here is the statement of a principle, brethren, upon which this whole controversy about the succession turns. What is ordination? It is nothing more nor less than designation to office, — or the right to exercise certain powers delegated by the great Head of the Church for the edification of his members. You are not to imagine that we hold that a sort of mysterious influence or invisible virtue has been streaming down from the hands of Bishops, upon the heads of those whom they have ordained in all past ages, and that this is the Apostolical succession. No! It is simply the right to exercise certain functions, certified by its proper evidence. Ordination is a thing transacted openly and publicly, in which ordinarily many persons take part. But the Apostolical Canon requires that a Bishop shall be ordained by at least two or three

Bishops; and the proof of this fact, in the absence of miracles, is the proper certificate to all persons that the person ordained is invested with that delegated authority, which he could not of right assume. In short, ordination is the regular induction to office, by lawful authority, in opposition to its unauthorized and arrogant assumption. Now, it is clear that such a fact is as capable of proof as any other fact. And consequently a succession of *ordinations* is of far more easy proof than *lineal succession*, — such, for example, as the succession of the Aaronic priesthood. For the ordination of a Bishop would only take place at the end of his predecessor's life; consequently the proofs would have to be produced at long intervals, after considerable periods of time had elapsed; and, the longer a Bishop lived, the fewer would be the number of links in the chain of succession. Thus the Episcopate of the late Bishop White of Pennsylvania extended through fifty years; he is therefore the only link between John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Feb. 12, 1775, and Jackson Kemper, the present Bishop of Missouri, consecrated by Bishop White, Sept. 25, 1835. And hence: —

It is far easier to trace the Episcopal succession through hundreds of years, than it is for any living man to trace his descent to his great-grandfather. The truth of lineal descent, in every step, is dependent upon the veracity of a single witness, and that is the mother in each case: whereas the truth and certainty of the Episcopal succession are made evident by the testimony of many witnesses to a public transaction, which is made matter of public record. No one questions the succession of the Aaronic priesthood, which we all know was transmitted by carnal descent; although the truth of that succession depended, in each descent, upon the single testimony of a woman as to a point of which no human being besides herself could have any certain knowledge. And yet, with such a fact as this admitted and unquestioned, men who stand up before the people to argue questions of theology will, in the face of day, gravely assert that the Apostolical succession is incapable of proof!

Is it morally possible, think you, that any man could successfully claim and exercise the Episcopal office in the Catholic Church

of this country or in England at this day, without showing that he had received Episcopal consecration or ordination? You know well what would be the fate of any such effort: you know that it would meet with the ridicule and contempt which have attended the foolish attempts of Dashiell and George M. West, to set up a pseudo-Episcopacy. If, then, such a thing be morally impossible now, let those who declaim against the Apostolical succession show how it was morally possible in any preceding age of the Church, acting under identically the same rule of ordination or consecration. The rule of the Church of the first three centuries was, as we have already shown, that "a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops." This rule is repeated at the general Council of Nice, 325 A.D., only with its provisions extended so as to make Episcopal consecrations more difficult of performance, thereby increasing the evidence to the fact in each case, in these words: "A Bishop ought to be constituted by all the Bishops of the province, but if this be not practicable, by reason of urgent necessity, three must by all means meet together, and, with the consent of those that are absent, let them perform the ordination." Such was the regulation established in every Church throughout the world, — in the British, the Gallican, the Spanish, the Roman, the Carthaginian, the Alexandrian, the Antiochean, and all others. Such is nearly the identical rule that prevails in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

Trace the lines of Episcopal succession wherever you please, that at Canterbury, at Arles or Lyons in France, or at Rome, or at Constantinople, and what does it prove? Why, that these Churches never allowed of any other than Episcopal consecration or ordination. If, then, the rejecters of Episcopacy will take any of these lists, and show where it is defective; if they will show us cause to believe that in any one case, or in any number of cases, the rule established throughout the Church has been violated or neglected or evaded, — we shall then have before us a matter admitting of discussion. But until this is done we shall take their broad declarations about the Episcopal succession, as naked assertions, which can only be met by positive and direct and unequivocal denial. (Appendix B.)

But the Episcopal succession, they say, has been broken. When asked in what instance, we are referred to the alleged elevation of a woman named *Joan*, to the Papacy in the ninth century. Now, be it observed here, that, whether the story be true or false, it does not invalidate the succession even as maintained by Romanists; much less does it oppugn the strength of the argument and evidence which sustains the succession in the Episcopal Churches which have dissented from Rome. I am in no way concerned to prove or disprove the truth of the story, otherwise than as every man is concerned to know the certainty of history; for, as I shall show, the succession for which we contend, although it is indirectly connected with the Roman Church, as Christianity itself at one time was, yet it does not run through the line of Roman Pontiffs at all. But let us consider the story itself. Mosheim,[1] the ecclesiastical historian, whose authority in this case at least will not be questioned, says that "between the Pontificate of Leo IV., who died in the year 855, and that of Benedict III., a certain woman, who had the art to disguise her sex for a considerable time, *is said* by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the Church with the title and dignity of Pontiff about two years." After stating that this story gave rise to long and imbittered discussion, some asserting and others denying its truth, he expresses his opinion that some unusual event had occurred at Rome, and concludes by observing that "what it was that gave rise to this story is yet to be discovered, and is likely to remain so." According to history, the whole rests upon a *say so:* it is at best but a flimsy argument, that can be constructed upon so insecure a foundation. But take it as all true, out and out, does it invalidate the Episcopal succession? Not at all. For, first of all, if it did, it must be shown that the Popes of Rome consecrate Bishops — which they do not; and, secondly, it must be shown that during the two years in which Joan is said to have swayed the papal sceptre, all the

[1] *Gieseler*, who cares little for the Apostolical succession, shows that the alleged Papacy of Joan is not only apocryphal, but chronologically impossible; there being scarce any interval between Leo IV. and Benedict III. See Cunningham's Translation, vol. ii. p. 20. (Philadelphia edition.)

Bishops in the Roman Church must have died, and that Joan herself consecrated successors to them — and this would indeed have broken the chain of Roman succession. But it must be shown, thirdly, in order to invalidate the succession in other Churches, that all the Bishops the world over must have died in those two years, — that the Churches in Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, in all Greece, in all Africa, in all the East, lost all their Bishops within those two years when Joan was in the papal chair. Now, willing as we are to stretch the line of credulity to the measure of other men's demands, in order to please them, this is rather farther than in reason or in common sense we can go. The truth is, that those who have thrown away Episcopacy feel bound to show reason for abandoning an institution so ancient, and attended by so many marks of its Scriptural authority; and, being hard pressed for arguments, they have caught at this story about Pope Joan, which combines the plausible with the ridiculous, to demolish the whole theory, as they think, of the Apostolical succession. They know well that ridicule often prevails when solid arguments are lacking; and, boldly asserting that a woman was once Pope, ask what is such a succession worth? as though they had destroyed the Apostolical succession by showing that a link was lacking in the Roman chain! But I would ask, What becomes of the succession in the British Church? The Bishops of that Church were not consecrated by the Pope of Rome. The same may be asked of any other Church: what becomes of the succession in Spain, in France, in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, in Greece, in other Eastern Churches? Why, had the Pope undertaken to consecrate Bishops for all these, he might have abandoned every thing else, and the triple crown had sat heavily indeed on his brows, — too heavily, indeed, for any mortal to bear! The truth is, as before stated the Pope does not consecrate Bishops at all, — unless it be some in Rome or parts adjacent, of which I am not certainly informed one way or the other, — and therefore the validity of the succession has nothing to do with the question who is Pope, or whether there be any Pope at all. One remark more, before quitting this part of the subject: I would ask those who are so fond of quoting Pope Joan and her reign of two years, to destroy the

succession, whether the usurpation of Queen Athaliah for six years of the throne of David, and the destruction by her of all the seed royal but Joash, vitiated the promise of God to David that *a man should not fail him to sit upon his throne!* Did the intrusion of Athaliah for six years destroy or break the line of succession of kings to come from his loins, or invalidate God's promise?

But after all, say the opponents of the Apostolical succession, although you make out your case by historical testimony, yet the succession comes through channels so impure that we cannot receive it. This objection is grounded on the gratuitous assumption, that the succession must be traced through the Roman Pontiffs. Now, as already stated, the succession does not run in this channel, because the Pontiff does not consecrate. We will state here, upon the authority of the Romish canon law, what power the Pope does claim in reference to Bishops, that we may see how far his pretensions interfere, if good, with the validity of the succession: "The Pope holds the place of God in the earth, so that he can confer ecclesiastical benefices without diminution." In opposition to this claim, Henry VIII. proclaimed himself head of the realm and Church of England. Again: "The translation, the deposition, or resignation of a Bishop, is reserved to the Roman Pontiff alone, not so much by any canonical constitution as by the Divine institution." It is hardly necessary to remind you that this claim was long and successfully resisted by the British Church, and that it was ever opposed by the Greek and Oriental churches. It has ever been the policy of the Pope to diminish the power of Bishops, and nothing has he labored more to destroy than an independent Episcopacy. No barrier stands so much in his way now as the Episcopacy of the English Church and that of the independent Eastern dioceses: the independence of dioceses presents, in fact, the most effectual check to that consolidation of power which Rome has long endeavored to effect by concentrating all rule and authority in the hands of the Pope. Our own system of Church government in the United States is a confederacy of independent dioceses, and like the State sovereignties, by having each its own governor and legislative assembly or council, effectually counteracts the tendency to consolidation. Once more, the

canon law says: "As the translation, the deposition, and resignation of Bishops, so likewise the confirmation of those who are elected, after their election, is reserved to the Roman Pontiff alone, by reason of the spiritual bond." Not one word about *consecration*. These are the claims of the Pope, — exorbitant enough, as all will allow: but remember that these claims were not always admitted; and, had they been so, we see not how the admitting of them can destroy or corrupt the succession. For although the Bishops in nearly the whole of the Western Church did at one time yield to and acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, still that did not deprive or divest them of the right and authority to ordain, — a right which they always claimed in virtue of their office, and which they always continued to exercise. It was only so late as the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, that the question was agitated whether the Bishops held their office "*de jure divino*," or "*de jure pontifico;*" i.e., from Christ or the Pope. The Archbishop of Grenada strenuously maintained in the council, that "wheresoever a Bishop shall be, whether in Rome or in Augubium, all are of the same merit, and of the same priesthood, and all successors of the Apostles. He inveighed against those who said St. Peter had ordained the other Apostles, Bishops. He admonished the council to study the Scriptures, and observe that power to teach throughout the world, to administer the sacraments, and to govern the Church, is equally given to all. And therefore as the Apostles had authority, not from Peter, but from Christ, so the successors of the Apostles have not power from Peter, but from Christ himself." The Archbishop of Paris manfully upheld the same sentiments, nor did they meet with opposition in the council, but from the Monks, Jesuits, Legates, and Cardinals. It is through these, who are not of the regular order of the Clergy, that the Pope has ever endeavored to enlarge and strengthen his power. The conclave which elects the Pope consists of seventy Cardinals in all, of which six only are Bishops, fifty of them Priests, and the rest Deacons: from which it is clear that he relies much more upon the Presbytery than any thing else, for the gift and maintenance of his authority.

But suppose, for argument's sake, that the succession does

come through the Roman Church, — that the Pope did confirm the election of Bishops, and order their consecration by other Bishops, which is the utmost that can be said: does this invalidate or vitiate the succession? Why, we might just as well say that the pure faith or doctrine of the Scriptures, which all the reformed Churches now teach, is corrupted and vitiated because it passed through the hands of the Romanists. They had in their keeping at one time the Bible, to the very same extent that they had in their keeping the power of ordination. If the Word of salvation has been transmitted to us through their instrumentality, and we now have it in its simplicity and integrity, why may we not have the authority to administer that Word, transmitted through the same channel, in its integrity also? Were the doctrine and sacraments of Christ's religion corrupted by the Church of Rome? so was the order of the Gospel. Were these corruptions rejected and thrown off at the Reformation, in respect to the faith of the Gospel? so were they also in respect to the order of the Gospel ministry. So that there exists not one reason for rejecting Episcopacy because of its having passed through the Roman Church, that does not apply with equal strength, on the same grounds, for rejecting the Gospel itself.

The idea that the succession is vitiated by its having come through an impure channel, gains no countenance whatever from the sentiments and practice of men in other things. Thus the truth of God was not less His truth because it was proclaimed by Balaam and afterwards by Judas. The sacrament of baptism is not less a sacrament to him who receives it, because the Minister who performs it shall afterwards prove to be an unholy and wicked man. His wickedness furnishes a just reason for depriving him of office, but affects not the validity of the act which he executed by virtue of the delegated authority with which he was invested. If it were otherwise; if our faith were directed to the Minister, and not to Christ the institutor of the ordinance, and if we cannot be certain of receiving the sacraments until positively certified and assured of the piety of him who administers them, — we never can be certain of receiving them at all.

Again: take the position that the channel of transmission cor-

rupts that which descends through it, and what do you make of the holy Saviour of the world? Trace the line of succession through which the promised Deliverer, the holy seed of salvation, came according to the flesh; and then ask yourselves, are you prepared to admit the principles contended for? There is, in the line of the Saviour's ancestry, Rahab the harlot; Tamar, who sought and obtained incestuous connection with her own father-in-law; there is Ruth the Moabitess, the offspring of Lot and his own daughter; there is Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, who admitted the adulterous embraces of David. If, then, the promised seed of redemption was neither tainted nor destroyed by transmission through this line of ancestral succession, — and it would be impious to say so, — why should it be supposed that the *spiritual seed* for the ministration of salvation has suffered injury or been destroyed because some of the agents for transmitting it have shown themselves as unworthy of the high honor vouchsafed to them as those pointed out in the line of the Saviour's ancestry?

But let us carry the principle contended for, to its practical results, by applying it to those who most strongly urge its force.

The Bishops of the British Church were in communion with the Church of Rome; and, Rome being a corrupt Church, therefore ordination by the British Bishops is worth nothing. We might ask here, What, then, was the worth of Mr. Wesley's ordination, since he received it from a British Bishop? But we will let that pass for the present.

The great plea which the Methodists put in to justify their separation from the Church, and their setting up a different Communion, was, that the Church of England was a corrupt Church. In the letter of the Methodist Bishops to their members, prefixed to their Book of Discipline, they quote the words of the Messrs. Wesley, saying, "God then (1737) thrust them out to raise a holy people." In ch. i. s. 1, they speak of being convinced "*that there was a great deficiency of vital religion in the Church of England in America.*" The Book of Discipline proceeds to state that Mr. John Wesley did "*solemnly set apart by the imposition of his hands, and prayer, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, and a Presbyter*

of the Church of England, for the Episcopal office." [1] Now, if the plea of corruption can be made good against the Church of England, and there was "a great deficiency of vital piety" in it, so that the Methodists felt constrained to withdraw and set up for themselves, I desire to ask whether Mr. Wesley's maintaining communion with this corrupt Church, deficient as it was "in vital piety," and his continuing in that communion to the day of his death, and his declaring that he believed it the purest national Church in the world, — whether all this does not destroy the validity of his ordination of Thomas Coke, LL.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, etc. In a word, if communion with Rome destroy, because of Rome's corruptions, the ministerial authority, does not the communion of Mr. Wesley with the Church of England destroy, because of its corruptions, his authority to ordain also? If the principle contended for avail in one case, why not in both? If not in both, why in either?

We are not concerned to answer these questions, brethren; nor are we disposed to press the subject further at present upon the attention of those whose sensibility is the more easily excited, when investigation is directed to the weak points of their system. The man whose title-deeds are defective, above all others, is sensitive to any intimation of a flaw of which he is painfully conscious himself. And so it is in religious systems: the upholders of them know their defects, and these they keep out of view, and manifest any thing but a gracious temper towards those who would examine into them.

In conclusion, we would just remind you, that we have showed from Scripture that the office of the Ministry is a delegated authority, and that the Ministry of the Apostolic Church consisted of three orders. We have endeavored to establish by argument, that a Ministry thus constituted was left by the Apostles in the Church when they quitted the earth. We have arrayed before you the testimony of credible witnesses to prove that this Ministry, so constituted, was continued in the Church till such time as is acknowledged on all hands, that it prevailed universally and without

[1] See Appendix C.

a single exception in any country. We have argued, and as we think conclusively, that it was morally impossible for the chain of Episcopal succession to be broken, and that any such alleged interruption is destitute of proof. We have considered the objection grounded on the Papal corruptions to vitiate or invalidate the succession, and shown that it is without force. It may be asked, then, whether, if the position we take upon this subject be made good, we do not *unchurch* all other denominations of Christians, and leave them to the uncovenanted mercies of God? I reply, in the first place, *we* do not *unchurch* them. It is an inference which those make who, by a voluntary act of their own, have separated themselves from that order of the Gospel which we have endeavored to prove was established in the primitive Church. It is therefore unjust and ungenerous to charge us with consequences which do not flow from any act of ours, but which are the legitimate results of their own deliberate proceedings. We have endeavored, in every possible way consistent with Christian charity, to prevent these divisions; and come what may, charge upon us whatever men may please, we can never for a moment, by word or act, give any countenance or sanction to the infidel maxim, that division into sects is advantageous to the cause of truth and piety, while the affecting prayer of Christ for the unity of His Church shall be received and acknowledged as part and parcel of Divine revelation: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me."[1] No, we shall do all we can by declaring the truth in the love of it, and by fair argument, by instructing those who oppose themselves to us, in the spirit of meekness, and by endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, to bring all believers to "that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be left no place among them, either for error in religion, or for viciousness in life."[2]

How far the various bodies of professed Christians around us,

[1] St. John xvii. 20, 21. [2] Ordinal.

united under rules and regulations for their government, which they have drawn from the Word of God, and sanctioned by what they honestly believe to be a just and fair interpretation of its meaning, — how far they are to be regarded as Churches of Christ, I shall not undertake to say. I honestly think it is a matter admitting of serious question. While I freely concede that some of them preach the faith of the Gospel, and that this faith, wherever received, will manifest, and does in them manifest, its appropriate fruits in righteousness, in charity, and in hope; still candor obliges me to declare, that in the exercise of the best reason and judgment which God has given me, and enlightened by all the information which the most diligent search has afforded to my mind, I think them destitute of an *essential feature* or mark of the visible Catholic Church of Christ: that is, *a Ministry deriving authority to act in the appointments of religion, from the Apostles.* At the same time, I grant that their ecclesiastical organizations have all the force and obligation, on those who have submitted to their authority, which the most solemn vows and engagements can bring upon the soul. Their ordinances, administered by the Ministry which they have, — such, for example, as Baptism and the Lord's Supper, — are to those who receive them, with the understanding they have of their nature and obligation, properly sacraments, — just as much so as an oath taken before a private citizen, instead of a magistrate or judge, is binding on the conscience of him who takes it. (See Appenix D.)

And now, is there just reason to charge upon such sentiments the odium of illiberality and uncharitableness? It is often said that the differences among Christians are unimportant, — not of that grave and serious character to cause emulations, strifes, and divisions. If so, why do not those who have gone out from us return? and why should every attempt like the present, to state the true grounds of difference, be frowned upon as ungracious, and be met by the weapons which calumny employs against stubborn facts, honest statements, and candid and fair arguments? We have no wish whatever to multiply causes of difference between ourselves and other denominations of Christians. On the contrary, the terms of communion which the Episcopal Church requires are

so free and liberal as more frequently to give others occasion to charge her with laxity, than afford fair opportunity to them, as she justly does, to commend her Catholic spirit. She offers no disputed points in theology as tests to her members of the soundness of their Christian character; but stating the facts and doctrines of the Apostles' Creed as the articles of her faith, and inculcating charity, she prays for "all who profess and call themselves Christians, that they may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." She goes farther; and, in accordance with the Apostle's directions that prayers and supplications be offered up for all men, the language of her Liturgy is, that it "may please God to have mercy upon all men." She stops not here; but in obedience to the blessed Saviour's injunctions, and in the spirit of His meek and lowly example, instructs us to pray "that it may please Thee to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts."

Such is the spirit I pray may rule evermore in my heart. And while I shall "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," and "speak the truth boldly as I ought to speak," God being my helper, I shall endeavor to utter not a word or sentiment inconsistent with the spirit of sincerity and truth in which that prayer should be offered.

APPENDIX A.

p. 269. "I allow that *each state ought to have one Bishop of its own by divine right;* which I show from Paul, saying, 'For this cause left I thee in Crete.'" — M. Luther.

"*The Bishops might easily retain the obedience due unto them*, if they urged us not to keep those traditions which we cannot keep with a good conscience." — Melanchthon.

"We have often protested that we do greatly approve the ecclesiastical polity and degrees in the Church, and, as much as lieth in us, do desire to conserve them." — Melanchthon.

"*I would to God it lay in me to restore the government of Bishops.* For I see what manner of Church we shall have, the ecclesiastical polity being dissolved. I do see that hereafter will

grow up in the Church a greater tyranny than there ever was before." — MELANCHTHON.

"By what right or law may we *dissolve the ecclesiastical polity*, if the Bishops will grant to us, that which in reason they ought to grant? And if it were lawful for us to do so, yet surely it were not expedient. *Luther was ever of this opinion.*" — MELANCHTHON.

"Zwingle has sent hither, in print, his confession of faith. *You would* say neither more nor less, than *that he is not in his senses.* At one stroke, he would abolish all ceremonies, and *he would have no Bishops.*" — MELANCHTHON.

"If they will give us such an hierarchy, in which the Bishops have such a pre-eminence as that they do not refuse to be subject unto Christ, I will confess that *they are worthy of all anathemas*, if any such there be, *who will not* reverence it, and *submit themselves to it with the utmost obedience.*" — CALVIN.

Of Calvin's Episcopal opinions, Mons. Daille, a French Protestant divine, thus writes: "Calvin honored all Bishops that were not subjects of the Pope, such as were the prelates of England. We confess that the foundation of their charge is good and lawful, *established by the Apostles according to the command of Christ.*" — BINGHAM'S *French Church's Apology for the Church of England.*

Mons. De l'Angle, another divine of the same Church, thus writes to the Bishop of London: "Calvin, in his treatise of the necessity of the Reformation, makes no difficulty to say, that if there should be any so unreasonable as to refuse the communion of a Church that was pure in its worship and doctrine, and not to submit himself with respect to its government, under pretence, that it had retained an *Episcopacy qualified* as yours is, there would be no censure or rigor of discipline that ought not to be exercised upon them." — STILLINGFLEET'S *Unreasonableness of Separation*, at the end.

"*It was essential, that, by the perpetual ordination of God*, it was, it is, and it will be necessary, that some one in the Presbytery, chief both in place and dignity, should preside to govern the proceedings, *by that right which is given him of God.*" — BEZA.

"In my writings touching Church government, I ever impugned

the Romish hierarchy, but never intended to touch or impugn the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England." — Beza.

"If there are any, as you will not easily persuade me, who would reject the whole order of Bishops, *God forbid that any man in his senses should assent to their madness.* Let her (Church of England) enjoy that singular blessing (Episcopacy) of God, which I pray may be perpetual." — Beza.

"By the perpetual observation of all Churches, *even from the Apostles' times*, we see *that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost*, that among Presbyters, to whom the procuration of Churches was chiefly committed, there should be one that should have the care or charge of divers Churches, and the whole Ministry committed to him; and by reason of that charge he was above the rest; and therefore the name of Bishop was attributed peculiarly to those chief rulers." — Bucer, *De Cura*, etc.

"Of the Episcopate, therefore, — that is, the superiority of one Pastor above the rest, — we first determine that it is repugnant to no divine law. If any one think otherwise, that is, if any one condemn the whole ancient Church of folly or even of impiety, the burden of proof beyond doubt lies upon him, etc. The very Ministry instituted by the Apostles sufficiently proves that equality of the ecclesiastical offices was not commanded by Christ. We, therefore, first lay down this, which is undoubtedly true: that it (viz., the Episcopate, or superiority of one Pastor above the rest) neither can nor ought to be found fault with; in which we have agreeing with us, Zanchius, Chemnitius, Hemmingius, Calvin, Melanchthon, Bucer, and even Beza, as thus far he says, *that one certain person, chosen by the judgment of the rest of his co-presbyters, was chief over the Presbytery, and was permanently so.*

"Another is, that that Episcopate, which we treat of, was received by the universal Church. This appears from all the councils, whose authority now likewise is very great among the pious. It appears also from an examination of the councils either national or provincial, of which there is almost none which does not show manifest signs of Episcopal superiority. All the Fathers, without exception, testify the same; of whom he who shows least deference to the Episcopate is Jerome, himself not a Bishop, but a Presbyter.

Therefore the testimony of him alone is sufficient: '*It was decreed through the whole world, that one chosen from the Presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong.*' Indeed, this error of Ærius was condemned by the whole Church, that he said *that a Presbyter ought to be distinguished from a Bishop by no difference.* Jerome himself, in reply to him who had written *that there is no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter*, answered, *This is unskilfully enough to make shipwreck in port, as it is said.* Even Zanchius acknowledges the agreement of the whole Church in this matter.

"The third thing is this, that the Episcopate had its commencement in the time of the Apostles. The catalogues of the Bishops in Irenæus, Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret, and others, all of which begin in the Apostolic age, testified this. But to refuse credit in an historical matter to so great authors, and so unanimous among themselves, is not the part of any but an irreverent and stubborn disposition. For that is just as if you should deny that it was true, what all histories of the Romans declare, that the consulate began from the expelled Tarquins. But let us hear Jerome again: '*At Alexandria*,' he says, '*from Mark the Evangelist, the Presbyters always named one chosen from themselves, placed in a higher degree, Bishop.*'

"Mark died in the eighth year of Nero: to whom succeeded Anianus; to Anianus, Abilius; to Abilius, Cerdo, the Apostle John being yet alive. After the death of James, Simeon had the Episcopate of Jerusalem; after the death of Peter and Paul, Linus, Anacletus, and Clemens had the Roman; and Euodius and Ignatius, that of Antioch, the same Apostle still living. This ancient history is surely not to be despised, to which Ignatius himself, the contemporary of the Apostles, and Justin Martyr and Irenæus, who followed him next, afford the most open testimony which there is no need to transcribe. '*Now indeed*,' says Cyprian, '*Bishops are appointed in all the provinces and in every city.*'

"Let the fourth be, that this Bishop was approved of by the Divine law, or (as Bucer says) it seemed good to the Holy Spirit that one among the Presbyters should have special charge. The Divine revelation affords to this assertion an argument not to be

withstood; for Christ himself commands it to be written *to the seven angels of the* Asiatic *Churches*. Those who understand the Churches themselves by the *angels*, manifestly contradict the sacred writings. *For the candlesticks are the Churches*, says Christ: *but the stars are the angels of the seven Churches*. It is wonderful whither the humor of contradicting may not carry men, when they dare to confound those things which the Holy Spirit so evidently distinguished. We do not deny that the name of angel may be suited to every Pastor in a certain general signification; but here it is manifestly written to one in every Church. Was there therefore only one Pastor in every city? No, indeed. For even in Paul's time many Presbyters were appointed at Ephesus to feed the Church of God (Acts xx. 17, 18). Why, therefore, are letters sent to one person in every Church, if no one had a certain peculiar and eminent function?"

After showing that some of the ancient Fathers, and among the Reformers, Bullinger, Beza, Rainoldus, agree with him in the representation, he says, "Christ, therefore, writing to those Bishops, thus eminent among the clergy, undoubtedly approved of this Episcopal superiority." — Grotius.

To the statements and argument of this learned Presbyterian, we need not add any thing: they must be hard indeed to convince, who are proof against the facts and reasoning of Grotius.

The foregoing extracts are quoted from a small but exceedingly valuable compilation by the Bishop of New Jersey, entitled "A Word for the Church," to which the reader is "benevolently" recommended. To obtain it will cost very little, and its perusal may confer lasting and inappreciable benefit.

APPENDIX B.

p. 272. "Despairing of justifying their ordinations from the Scriptures, the resort of dissenters is to a denial of the Episcopal succession. But by this very denial they show how important it is. Now, that there has been a body of men in the world, called Bishops, ever since the days of the Apostles, is as undeniable as that there has been a body of Christians. One may as well deny the continuance of the human race, or the succession of the gen-

erations of men, as the continuance and succession of Bishops. The succession of Bishops as a body of men, then, has never been broken. But it is alleged that the succession has been vitiated by irregular admissions, thus violating the law upon which it depends. But what if the allegation were true? Suppose there have been men professing and acknowledged to be members of the Christian Church, who have never been baptized: is not he who is truly baptized *now* a member of the Church? Suppose that men have occasionally assumed the office of a Presbyter, and been allowed to exercise the duties and functions of that office without any ordination at all: is he who is regularly ordained in this age any the less a Presbyter on that account? Does the invalidity of his orders, or the fact of his having had no orders, annihilate the order in the Ministry to which he pretended to belong? Most certainly not. Neither could the fact (if there were such an one) that some men have been received as Bishops without a regular ordination to the Episcopate, destroy the order of Bishops, or make him who is regularly ordained in this age any the less a Bishop than if no such irregularity had ever occurred. But suppose they could prove that the order was lost, what would they gain? Simply a freedom from the restraint of God's laws, a liberty to follow the decrees and desires of their own hearts.

"But let us haste to notice the alleged breaks in the succession.

"1. It is not enough to state the fact in a general manner: you must trace the succession in every individual case. You are a priest: I go to you for baptism, for instance. I must closely examine your authority: by whom were you ordained? By the Bishop of Vermont. By whom was the Bishop of Vermont ordained? (consecrated.) And by whom was *that* individual ordained? and so on. Are you prepared to answer these questions? Have you the documents to prove your legitimate pastoral descent from Jesus Christ? Can you establish your ecclesiastical pedigree beyond all controversy? I ask nothing unnecessary.

"1. To this I reply, that it is *not* necessary to trace the succession in every individual case; because every Bishop had three to ordain him, and they had nine, and so on. Thus the individual succession becomes, in two or three generations, merged in the

general succession; and if there were but *one* sound and valid Bishop in a nation or a Church a few generations back, all their Bishops would be sound and valid now. For instance, it appears from an actual comparison of the table of the American succession, that, if only one of the Bishops in this country forty years ago had been valid, all would be so now; for they can all trace their succession to him.

"2. I can give the succession in the individual case, taking only one in the line, whereas there are in fact never less than three. Hopkins, Griswold, White — Moore of Canterbury in England; thence by the line of Canterbury, eighty-seven names, to Augustine, A.D. 596. From Augustine, through Lyons, to Polycarp of Smyrna, thirty-one names; and Polycarp was ordained by St. John, and St. John by Jesus Christ. Again, by the *same line*, I go back to Theodore, ninth Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 688, eighty-nine names from Bishop Hopkins; and thence, by the Bishops of Rome, seventy-six names, to St. Peter, who was ordained by Christ. Again, by the same line, I go back to Chicely, A.D. 1414, twenty-nine names; and thence by St. Davids to David, A.D. 519, sixty-six names; thence by Jerusalem to St. James and *the rest* of the Apostles, fifty-one names.

"Thus Bishop Hopkins, from whom I had my orders, is the one hundred and twenty-first from St. John, giving about fourteen years for each Bishop; one hundred and sixty-fifth from St. Peter, about ten years for each Bishop; one hundred and forty-sixth from St. James, and the rest of the Apostles at Jerusalem, about twelve years for each Bishop.

"I have omitted the names in each line of succession for brevity's sake; but if my friends' incredulity will not be overcome without, I will furnish every one.

"Rev. W. D. WILSON.

"Banner of the Cross, June 10, 1843."

"But the question is often asked, Can the succession be traced up step by step to the Apostles? Is there no breach in it which would invalidate the whole? The Master's *promise*, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world,' is enough to assure the humble believer that no such breach has occurred, or can occur to

the end of the world. Besides, the utmost pains have always been taken, in every branch of the Church, to keep the succession regular and pure. *Diocesan* succession and *Apostolical* succession are two distinct things. As in Maryland, for example, we have had four Bishops, but no one of them has been concerned in the consecration of his successor. So that a vacancy or an interregnum in a particular Diocese, or in fifty or an hundred Dioceses, even of long continuance, does not affect the succession in the least. One of the Apostolical Canons enjoins that two or three Bishops, at least, shall unite in every consecration. The succession therefore does not depend upon a line of single Bishops in one Diocese, running back to the Apostles, because every Bishop has had at least three to ordain him, either one of whom had power to perpetuate the succession. How rapidly do the securities multiply as we go back! Bishop Whittingham had three to ordain him; his ordainers had nine; at the third step there were twenty-seven; at the fourth, eighty-one; at the fifth, two hundred and forty-three; and so on, increasing in a threefold proportion. Now, if any one of the entire number to whom Bishop Whittingham's consecration may be traced back had a valid ordination, the succession is in him; and he can transmit it to any other in whose consecration he may assist.

"The securities therefore are incalculably strong, and the claim of any duly consecrated Bishop to the Apostolic succession is more certain than that of any monarch upon earth to his hereditary crown. Lists of the Apostolical succession, in descent from the different Apostles, have been carefully preserved by Eusebius and other early writers; and they have been continued in different lines down to the present day. Any reader who desires to consult them is referred to Perceval on 'Apostolical Succession,' and Chapin's 'Primitive Church.' Rome may trace its line to St. Peter; the Greeks, to St. Paul; the Syrians and Nestorians, to St. Thomas; and the American Episcopal Church, to St. John.

"*Bishop White*, the head of the American line of Bishops, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. We will therefore present a list beginning with St. John, and coming through the Episcopate of Lyons in France or Gaul, and that of Canterbury in England, till it connects with ours in the United States of America.

ST. JOHN.

1. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna.

Bishops of Lyons.

1. Pothinus.
2. Irenæus.
3. Zacharias.
4. Elias.
5. Faustinus.
6. Verus.
7. Julius.
8. Ptolemy.
9. Vocius.
10. Maximus.
11. Tetradus.
12. Verissimus.
13. Justus.
14. Albinus.
15. Martin.
16. Antiochus.
17. Elpidus.
18. Sicarius.
19. Eucherius, 1.
20. Patiens.
21. Lupicuus.
22. Rusticus.
23. Stephanus.
24. Viventiolus.
25. Eucherius, 2.
26. Lupus.
27. Licontius.
28. Sacerdos.
29. Nicetus.
30. Priscus.
31. Ætherius, A.D. 589.

CANTERBURY.

32. } A.D. 596, AUGUSTINE, mis-
33. } sionary to the Anglo-Sax-
from } ons, was consecrated by
St. } Virgilius, 24th Bishop of
John. } Arles, assisted by Ætheri-
} us, 31st Bishop of Lyons.
34. Lawrence, A.D. 605.
35. Mellitus, " 619.
36. Justus, " 624.
37. Honorius, " 634.
38. Adeodatus, " 654.
39. Theodore, A.D. 688.
40. Brithwald, " 693.
41. Tatwine, " 731.
42. Nothelm, " 735.
43. Cuthbert, " 742.
44. Bregwin, " 759.
45. Lambert, " 763.
46. Æthelred, 1, " 793.
47. Wulfred, " 803.
48. Theogild or Feogild, " 830.
(Consecrated June 5, and died Sept. 3.)
49. Ceolnoth, Sept. 11, " 830.
50. Æthelred, 2, " 871.
51. Phlegmund, " 891.
52. Anthelm or Adelm, " 923.
53. Wulfelm, " 928.
54. Odo Severus, " 941.
55. Dunstan, " 959.
56. Æthelgar, " 988.
57. Siricus, " 989.
58. Aluricus or Alfricus, " 996.
59. Elphege, " 1005.
60. { Living or / Leoning or / Elkskan, } " 1013.
61. Agelnoth or Æthelst, " 1020.
62. Edsin or Elsin, " 1038.
63. Robert Gemeticensis, " 1050.
64. Stigand, " 1052.
65. Lanfranc, " 1077.
66. Anselm, " 1093.
67. Rodulph, " 1114.
68. William Corboil, " 1122.
69. Theobold, " 1138.
70. Thomas à Becket, " 1162.
71. Richard, " 1174.
72. Baldwin Fordensis, " 1184.
73. Reginald Fitz Joceline, " 1191.
74. Hubert Walten, " 1193.
75. Stephen Langton, " 1207.
76. Richard Wethersfield, " 1229.
77. Edmund, " 1234.
78. Boniface, " 1245.
79. Rob. Kilwarby, " 1272.
80. John Peckham, " 1278.
81. Rob. Winchesly, " 1294.
82. Walter Regnold, " 1313.
83. Simon Mepham, " 1328.

84. John Startford, A.D. 1333.
85. Thomas Bradwardine, " 1348.
86. Simon Islip, " 1349.
87. Simon Langham, " 1366.
88. William Whittlesey, " 1368.
89. Simon Sudbury, " 1374.
90. William Courtney, " 1381.
91. Thomas Arundle, " 1396.
92. Henry Chichely, " 1414.
93. John Stafford, " 1443.
94. John Kemp, " 1452.
95. Thomas Bourcher, " 1454.
96. John Morton, " 1486.
97. Henry Dean, " 1501.
98. William Wareham, " 1503.
99. Thomas Cranmer, " 1533.
100. Reginald Pole, " 1555.
101. Matthew Parker, " 1559.
102. Ed. Grindall, Dec. " 1573.
103. John Whitgift, " 1583.
104. Richard Bancroft, " 1604.
105. George Abbott, " 1611.
106. William Laud, A.D. 1633.
107. William Juxon, " 1660.
108. Gilbert Sheldon, " 1663.
109. William Sancroft, " 1677.
110. John Tillotson, " 1691.
111. Thomas Tennison, " 1694.
112. William Wake, " 1715.
113. John Potter, " 1737.
114. Thomas Secker, " 1738.
115. Thomas Herring, " 1747.
116. Matthew Hutton, " 1757.
117. Frederick Cornwallis, " 1768.
118. John Moore, " 1783.
119. From St. John is William White of Pennsylvania, consecrated February the 4th, 1787, by John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Bishop of Peterborough.

" The compilers of the lists from which the above was taken have consulted the best authorities; and no more doubt of its authenticity can be entertained, than of any chronological table of historical events, or list of the sovereigns of any country, drawn from its official registers and archives. The dates attached to the names of the Archbishops of Canterbury indicate, in several instances, not the time of their consecration, but of their translation to that see.

" Rev. Dr. HENSHAW."

APPENDIX C.

p. 69. The following extracts will not be without interest to those concerned to investigate the claims of Methodist Episcopacy.

" To all [to] whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford, *Presbyter of the Church of England*, sendeth greeting: Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces in North America, who desire to continue under my care, *and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England*, are greatly distressed for want of Ministers to admin-

ister the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper *according to the usage of the same Church;* and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with Ministers: —

"Know all men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the Ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to His glory, I have this day set apart *as a superintendent*, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, being assisted by other ordained Ministers, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, a *Presbyter of the Church of England*, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, 1784.

"JOHN WESLEY."

Mr. Wesley being only a Presbyter, and Thomas Coke being also a Presbyter of the Church of England, we may surely with reason ask, What additional power or authority could Wesley's imposition of hands confer on Coke? Might not Coke, being a Presbyter, with just the same propriety have laid hands on Wesley? If Presbyter and Bishop be the same order, as is contended, then what use or reason was there for ordaining Coke? If Presbyter and Bishop be not the same, then Wesley, being no Bishop, could not confer the Episcopal office on Coke.

Under the commission of Wesley as above, Dr. Coke came to America, and met the Methodist Conference at Baltimore. In the space of forty-eight hours he ordained Mr. Asbury, Deacon, Presbyter, and Bishop, and afterwards united with him in an address to General Washington, Coke and Asbury signing the address as Bishops.

In what light Mr. Wesley regarded this assumption of the title of Bishop by his superintendents, may be seen from the following extract of a letter addressed by him to Mr. Asbury, under date of Sept. 20, 1788: —

"One instance of this your greatness has given me great

concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called Bishop? I shudder and start at the very thought. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this."

Let us now see what estimate Dr. Coke himself put upon his ordination as a Bishop. In a letter addressed to Bishop White of Pennsylvania, dated April 24, 1791, nearly two months after the death of Mr. Wesley, — an event of which he had not then heard, — he proposes a re-union of the Methodists with the Church, and says, "I do not think that the generality of them [the Methodist Ministers], perhaps none of them, would refuse to submit to a *re-ordination*, if other hindrances were removed out of the way." If Dr. Coke thought that he was really invested with power to ordain Ministers in the Church of God, and had so ordained them, how could he for a moment tolerate the idea of a *re-ordination?* In a letter addressed to Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, dated May 14, 1791, — only three weeks after that to Bishop White, — he is more full and explicit. He says, "For five or six years after my union with Mr. Wesley, I remained fixed in my attachments to the Church of England; but afterwards, for many reasons which it would be tedious and useless to mention, I changed my sentiments, and promoted a separation from it as far as my influence reached. Within these two years I am come back again: my love for the Church of England has returned. I think I am attached to it on a ground much more rational, and consequently much less likely to be shaken, than formerly. I have many a time run into error; but to be ashamed of confessing my error when convinced of it, has never been one of my defects. Therefore, when I was fully convinced of my error in the steps I took to bring about a separation from the Church of England, in Europe, I delivered before a congregation of about three thousand people, in our largest chapel in Dublin, on a Sunday evening, after preaching, an exhortation, which, in fact, amounted to a *recantation of my error*. Some time afterward, I repeated the same in our largest chapels in London, and in several other parts of England and Ireland; and I have reason to believe that my proceedings in this respect have given a death-blow to all the hopes of a separation which may exist in the minds of any in those kingdoms.

"On the same principles I most cordially wish for a re-union of Protestant-Episcopal and the Methodist Churches in these States. . . . How great, then, would be the strength of *our* Church (will you give me leave to call it so? I mean the Protestant Episcopal) if the two sticks were made one? . . . Now, on a re-union taking place, our Ministers, both Elders and Deacons, would expect to have, and ought to have, the same authority they have at present, of administering the ordinances according to the respective powers already invested in them for this purpose. *I well know that they must submit to a re-ordination*, which I believe might be easily brought about if every other hindrance were removed out of the way. But the grand objection would arise from the want of confidence which the Deacons and unordained preachers would experience."

The Doctor's plan for removing this objection is seen in the following: "*But if the two houses of the Convention* [he refers to the General Convention of the Protestant-Episcopal Church] *of the Clergy would consent to your consecration of Mr. Asbury and me as Bishops of the Methodist Society in the Protestant-Episcopal Church in these United States* (or by any other title, if that be not proper), on the supposition of the re-union of the two Churches under proper mutual stipulations; and engage that the Methodist Society shall have a regular supply on the death of their Bishops, and so *ad perpetuum*, the grand difficulty in respect to the preachers would be removed; they would have the same men to confide in whom they have at present, and all other mutual stipulations would soon be settled." — *So. Churchman*, June 9, 1843.

We offer but one more extract. In a letter addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, he says, "If his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the Government should think proper *to appoint me their Bishop in India, I should most cheerfully and most gratefully accept of the offer.* . . . In my letter to Lord Liverpool, I observed that *I should, in case of my appointment to the Episcopacy of India, return most fully and faithfully into the bosom of the Established Church, and do every thing in my power to promote its interests, and would submit to all such restrictions in the fulfilment of*

my office, as the Government and the Bench of Bishops at home should think necessary." — *Ed. Rev.*, No. cxlv., 1840.

The preceding requires no comment. Conclusions against Dr. Coke's Episcopal authority or character are inevitable and irresistible.

APPENDIX D.

p. 72. The subjoined extracts from a sermon preached by Mr. Wesley, May 4, 1789, less than two years before his death, will show in what light he regarded the claim of his preachers to administer sacraments. The text is Heb. v. 4.

"In 1744, all the Methodist preachers had their first conference. But none of them dreamed that the being called to preach gave them any right to administer sacraments. And when that question was proposed, 'In what light are we to consider ourselves?' it was answered, '*As extraordinary messengers*, raised up to provoke the *ordinary* ones to jealousy.' In order hereto, one of our first rules was given to each preacher, You are to do *that part* of the work which we appoint. But *what work* was this? Did we ever appoint you to administer sacraments? to exercise the priestly office? Such a design never entered into our mind; it was the farthest from our thoughts: and, if any preacher had taken such a step, we should have looked upon it as a palpable breach of this rule, and consequently a recantation of our connection.

"For supposing (what I utterly deny) that the receiving you as a preacher at the same time gave an authority to administer the sacraments, yet it gave you no other authority than to do it, or any thing else, *where I appoint*. But when did I appoint you to do this? Nowhere at all. Therefore by this very rule you are excluded from doing it; and in doing it, you renounce the very first principle of Methodism, which was wholly and solely to preach the Gospel. I wish all of you who are vulgarly termed Methodists would seriously consider what has been said. And particularly you whom God hath commissioned to call sinners to repentance. It does by no means follow from hence, that ye are commissioned to baptize, or administer the Lord's Supper. Ye never dreamed

of this, for ten or twenty years after ye began to preach. Ye did not then, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, 'seek the priesthood also.' Ye knew 'no man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron.' Oh, contain yourselves within your own bounds; be content with preaching the Gospel; 'do the work of Evangelists;' proclaim to all the world the loving-kindness of God our Saviour; declare to all, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand: repent ye, and believe the Gospel!' I earnestly advise you, abide in your place; keep your own station. Ye were, fifty years ago, those of you that were then Methodist preachers, *extraordinary messengers* of God, not going in your own will, but *thrust out;* not to supersede, but to provoke to jealousy the ordinary messengers. In God's name, stop there!"

Alas! this voice of warning and remonstrance was uttered in vain. The Methodists have long since, in this country at least, completed their schism; and though professing to derive ministerial authority from Wesley, and to be but slightly removed from the doctrine and government of the Church, yet few others are found to manifest a more determined spirit of hostility to the prevalence of her worship, the spread of her principles, and the increase of her members.

PREPARATION OF CANDIDATES FOR CONFIRMATION.[1]

Dearly Beloved and Reverend Brethren, — In presenting children and others for the Rite of Confirmation, there is great danger on the part of those who are candidates for the privileges of this Rite, as well as of those whose duty it is to prepare them properly for its profitable reception, of undervaluing or misapprehending the amount of Christian knowledge and experience which the Church expects and requires as previously necessary to its administration. There can be but little doubt that the lukewarmness, not to say careless lives, of many who have renewed their baptismal vows in "the laying-on of hands," is attributable to this lack of due preparation. Young people are found abstaining from the Lord's Supper immediately after their Confirmation, as if wholly unconscious of any inconsistency between their profession and practice; and older persons are observed to be living in such habits of worldliness, as might lead one to suppose that a renunciation of "the world, the flesh, and the devil," had never entered into the number of their professed obligations. No wonder that this Rite, under such circumstances, should be regarded by many serious-minded people as of so little value that they should speak of its administration as bordering on a solemn mockery, and treat its claims to consideration as of so little worth. The fault lies chiefly in parental neglect and ministerial unfaithfulness.

Parents and sponsors should remember that God holds them responsible for the religious well-being of the children committed to their care, to the fullest extent of their guardianship and influence over them. If bound by natural affection to provide for their temporal welfare, much more, on the same principle and on the

[1] Third Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tennessee, delivered in St. Luke's Church, Jackson, Friday, the 22d of May, 1857.

ground of acknowledged duty, are they under obligations to teach them their duty to God as the subjects of His moral government.

At Baptism, a strict charge is given by the Minister to those who have the care of the child, that they teach him "*what a solemn vow, promise, and profession he has there made by them;*" that it is their "*part and duty to see that he learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments,*" and then, it is added, in order that the whole round of Christian duty may be embraced, "*all other things which a Christian 'ought to know and believe to his soul's health.*" Can any thing be more complete? All knowledge and faith necessary for the soul's health. Can any directions be more explicit? He shall be taught "the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments," — faith to enlighten, grace to strengthen, and obedience the fruit. Can any reminding of one's duty be more solemn? — a personal act bringing weighty obligations on a soul whose eternal happiness or misery will depend on the fidelity with which those obligations are met and discharged. Accordingly we find that the Church has manifested her sense of the importance of all this, by providing a Catechism for the use of all her baptized children, so comprehensive as to embrace all needful points of faith and practice, so simple as to be level to the plainest understanding, and so concise as to be within the reach of the humblest capacity.

The duty of a parent or sponsor is not, I conceive, fully and adequately discharged by teaching a child the Catechism by rote merely. That may do for a beginning, when children are making their first attainments in learning. It is by no means all that is requisite as a preparation for Confirmation. The child must be taught by precept and example practically to recognize, daily and evermore, those great central truths embodied in the Creed, without which there can be no justifying faith, no true repentance, and no godly life. How plain and explicit the instructions of the Catechism on this subject! In answer to the question, "What dost thou chiefly learn in these Articles of thy Belief?" it is replied, —

"First, *I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world.*

"Secondly, *In God the Son, who hath redeemed me, and all mankind.*

"Thirdly, *In God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the people of God.*"

The child who is duly prepared for Confirmation must see, in the conduct of those who have the care of his religious training, these truths exemplified. Little will it avail to enrich his mind with the store of human knowledge, unless his heart be softened by the dews of Divine Grace. And here is just the part of duty in which there is too much reason to fear that parents and sponsors frequently and grossly fail. They may pray for their children, but they do not pray *with* them. Their particular wants are not made the subjects of *special* prayer. They are not taken aside into the private oratory or closet, and their peculiar needs inquired into, and the voice of earnest supplication lifted up for them, in the affecting language of the aged patriarch, "Oh that these my children might live before Thee!" Alas! this moving, heartfelt concern, if it exist at all, seldom finds expression in strong crying and entreaty for the spiritual life of the children of the Church; but in efforts to make them rich in temporal goods, or distinguished in worldly accomplishments. Herein there is pains-taking enough. The sea and the dry land are made tributary to the effort to make our children rich. The aid of the living and of the dead is invoked to make them learned and accomplished in their professions. Oh! when will any thing like the same anxiety and care be manifested to make them Christians? And yet it would seem, that, if any solicitude should weigh heavily and constantly upon the parental heart, it ought to be that for the spiritual welfare of our offspring. By the love which God has implanted in our bosoms, He has spoken more emphatically to us than if He had proclaimed it by a voice uttered amidst the thunders of Sinai. We know not what may be the lot of our children in their pilgrimage through this world. We know that they are sprung from a corrupt stock, and that they like ourselves will be sinners. There is a root of evil in their natures, which, if it be not eradicated by Divine Grace, or checked in its growth by timely watchfulness, will put off shoot after shoot of wickedness, till the whole soil

of the heart is occupied, and the moral nature wholly corrupted. For sin is never stationary. Its progress is always onward. It is like those trees of which we read in Eastern climes, whose far-reaching branches put down shoots which rise again in stately trunks, and these again multiply their stems, till whole acres are covered, while under the gloomy shade of their rank foliage, excluding the light and heat of the sun, creep venomous reptiles and all loathsome things. Such is sin in its occupancy of the human soul, ever striving to possess the whole ground, to exclude the light of truth and the influence of Heavenly Grace, and introduce its own loathsome brood of "vile affections and lusts."

Our children, too, have come into a world eminently calculated, by its pernicious maxims and wicked examples, to nourish their natural inclinations to depravity, and to swell the stream of corruption till it rise to a flood, and pour desolation over their whole moral and spiritual nature. The eye of the profligate, like the vulture, may easily mark them out for destruction. Men of malignant passions and desperate character may seek companionship with them, and patronize every step they take in iniquity, until a career of crime is terminated in a death of infamy, and a grave upon which there drops no tear of human commiseration.

Our children will be sufferers. It is conceded to none of the offspring of Adam, to enter the skies without pain. Nor should we exclude from our minds the thought that they may be subjected to suffering in its extreme forms, and under circumstances the most forlorn and helpless. On the ocean, amidst the raging of its billows lashed into fury by the tempest, their last cries for mercy may mingle with the howlings of the waves. On the land, in sickly and inhospitable climes, where the red-eyed pestilence marks his footsteps by desolation, where no father nor mother is near to support their drooping heads, or wipe the cold death-drops from their pallid brows, it may be their lot to drain the cup of their sorrows, and close the wearisome journey of life. In cold and nakedness, in hunger and thirst, in poverty and neglect, on the sun-scorched desert or in regions of thick-ribbed ice, in haunts of low and infamous brutality, or in the dank and cheerless dungeon, on the gallows, by the hand of the assassin, on the battle-

field, or by any one of those ten thousand accidents which cut short human existence, who of us shall presume to say that his children may not meet with that "sudden death" from which we pray to be delivered, and which we know may at any moment arrest us anywhere on the broad face of that world in which we are but sojourners? What parent can sit down by his fireside at home, in the midst of his children, little groups of sufferers, and not instinctively ask himself the question, "Is there no eye to pity these little ones when my eye is dim? Is there no ear to hear their groans when my ear is deaf? Is there no hand that will be stretched out to defend and protect when my hand shall be mouldering in the grave? Is there no invisible source of comfort and of succor to whom I may commit these beloved objects when I have left these earthy scenes, and passed to those changeless abodes where a father's care and love can avail them no more?" Pressed by these painful considerations, — considerations inseparable from the condition of mortality, — we suppose a parent will feel constrained to do all in his power, not only to shield his offspring from dangers that threaten them in this world, but that he will invoke for them that grace and blessing, that love and care of our Heavenly Father, which will be their best protection here, and the surest guarantee of their safety hereafter.

For I remark once more, that our children will go to Eternity! Yes, Eternity, with all its dread realities, with all its changeless solemnities, must be met by them, and is among the allotments of their future condition. Do we think of this often enough? Do we think of it with sufficient earnestness, — with a seriousness answerable to the overwhelming consequences which follow upon its truth? Is the line of being upon which our children are travelling, to run on, when this great globe shall be broken up into fragments, when the heavens themselves shall pass away with a great noise, and no place more be found for them; when the earth and the sea shall give up their dead; when all the hosts of heaven, and all the legions of hell, and the long line of Adam's race, shall stand up before God, a countless army? Then, with what intense and overpowering interest ought we to regard their destiny! How ought every faculty of soul and spirit to be exerted, that they may

be prepared for this awful scene! How ought every purpose, pursuit, and occupation in life to be formed, controlled, and directed to the one paramount object of being accepted in the day of doom, and being enabled then to lift up our voices with joy, and say, "Behold, Lord, Thy servant and the children whom Thou gavest me!"

These considerations one might reasonably suppose would evermore be uppermost in the mind of every Christian parent. They are equally proper to occupy the thoughts of the Christian Minister. But the Church hath thought good to add the authority of a special law to the obligations which have been adverted to, making it the duty of each Pastor carefully to instruct the children of his Parish. The law is in these words: viz., "The Minister of every Parish shall diligently, upon Sundays and Holydays or some other convenient occasions, openly in the Church, instruct or examine so many children of his Parish, sent unto him, as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism."

Here we find that the Church has ordered *how* this duty shall be performed, — *diligently*. The word marks her sense of the importance of the duty. It is something that she would not only enjoin as necessary to be done, but to be done *diligently;* that is, with the zeal and constancy which *love* inspires. And that no excuse may be alleged for its neglect or omission, on account of the want of time, she prescribes that it shall be done "on *Sundays and Holydays*," — the very seasons appropriated to the most important of all concerns, the care of the soul. And, that no press of duty or engagement in the affairs of the Parish may justify any omission herein, it is added, "or on some *other convenient occasions.*" Next she commands *where* it shall be done, — "openly *in the Church*," that all who choose may hear and learn "the words of eternal life." And then she directs the Minister as to *what* he shall *instruct* or *examine* the children, — that is, "in some part of the Catechism." It is recorded of Luther, Melanchthon, Cranmer, and many other great men distinguished for their services and sufferings in the cause of Christ, that towards the close of their lives they gave up the reading and study of all books, and betook themselves to the Bible and their Catechisms.

They had become as little children, and as little children they wished to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

That the Minister may be encouraged and strengthened in the performance of so great and necessary a work, the law of the Church proceeds: —

"And all fathers, mothers, masters, and mistresses shall cause their children, servants, and apprentices, who have not learned their Catechism, to come to the Church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear and be ordered by the Minister, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn."

The rule is very comprehensive, embracing every class in society who may be presumed to have the control of others, — "fathers, mothers, masters, and mistresses;" extending to all conditions in life which may be reasonably supposed, from their dependence, to need instruction, — "children, servants, and apprentices." It is enjoined upon the former, to cause the latter to come to the Church to be instructed. How is this injunction of the Church ordinarily heeded by those who profess to reverence her authority? It is, I awfully fear, practically and habitually disregarded by the large majority of those who dwell in this nominally Christian land. There are thousands around us, "children, servants, and apprentices," wholly dependent for religious training upon those who "exercise rule and authority over them," that, in the great Day of Eternity, may lift up the voice of bitter reproach mingled with lamentation, and say, "No man cared for our souls!" If there be reason to mourn over the prevalence of irreligion in the land, and the decay of piety and godliness among professed Christians, I am bold to say that the efficient causes are to be traced to this neglect of duty on the part of the laity, rather than any unfaithfulness among the Clergy. In this part of their office, Ministers are powerless without the co-operation of the people. But where parents and sponsors do discharge this part of their duty, the Minister can be at no loss as to the amount of instruction to be given to those sent to him. He is to continue his labors till they have learned *the whole of the Catechism*, and then they are to be brought to Confirmation. For thus proceeds the rubric, or law of the Church: —

"So soon as children are come to a competent age, and can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and can answer to the other questions of this short Catechism, they shall be brought to the Bishop."

"And whensoever the Bishop shall give knowledge for children to be brought unto him for their Confirmation, the Minister of every Parish shall either bring, or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his Parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the Bishop to be confirmed."

The whole of these directions look to attainments in Christian knowledge and character, which it is greatly to be feared are very injuriously if not fatally overlooked by many whose duty it is to prepare and present persons for Confirmation. The Church in all her Offices contemplates the highest proficiency in the Divine life as the object aimed at by their administration, and a full understanding of their nature, and due preparation, on the part of those capable of the same, in order to their profitable reception. Thus: —

"Baptism is a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness," — pre-requisites to which are, "repentance whereby we forsake sin, and faith whereby we steadfastly believe the promises of God made to us in that sacrament."

The first rubric in the Office of Adult Baptism reads: —

"When any such persons as are of riper years are to be baptized, timely notice shall be given to the Minister; that so due care may be taken for their examination, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; and that they may be exhorted to prepare themselves, with prayers and fasting, for the receiving this Holy Sacrament."

Here we find that "timely notice must be given," due care taken for examination of the candidate in the principles of the Christian religion, and preparation made by prayers and fasting for so solemn an act. And then, upon the administration of the ordinance itself, the witnesses are exhorted to remind the persons baptized, "what a solemn vow, promise, and profession they have made;" how "they must grow in grace and in the knowledge of

our Lord Jesus Christ, and live godly, righteously, and soberly, in this present world:" while the baptized are charged to remember, "that Baptism representeth unto us our profession; which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto Him; that as He died, and rose again for us, so should we who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness," etc.

More, and surely not less than all this, may be reasonably expected in the way of religious attainments, from those who, having learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in Baptism, come forward "in their own names and persons openly before the Church to ratify and confirm the same." *More* may be expected of them, because from infancy, if sponsors and Ministers have been faithful, they have enjoyed the inestimable privileges and benefits of religious training; they have almost from the beginning of life been in covenant with God; the promises of God were visibly sealed to them in Holy Baptism, whereby they were "made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;" they have been taught their duty, and been the subjects of fervent and effectual prayer, — none of which priceless advantages have been enjoyed, or at least in a very slight degree, by the unbaptized. But because it is said in the rubric, "So soon as children are come to a competent age, and can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and can answer to the other questions of the short Catechism, they shall be brought to the Bishop," to be confirmed by him, therefore many young persons think, — and alas! some Ministers think with them, — that, if they can but repeat the whole of the Catechism by memory, they are fit and qualified subjects for Confirmation, and that this is all the preparation which the Church demands of them in order to the reception of that Rite which admits them to the highest privileges of a Christian.

It is not difficult to understand how this mistake comes about, and may easily proceed to a fatal delusion. The language is quite common among us, that the Word, sacraments, rites, and institutions of the Church are all means of grace, and to be beneficial must be used; and hence the urgency with which they are recom-

mended and pressed upon the attention and use of all men who attend our places of worship. It is said that the use of these means of grace is in our hands, the gracious effect of them dependent on God's blessing; that it is our duty to use them, and to look to God for their efficacy and sanctifying influence. This is often so broadly stated, that no reference whatever is made to the qualifications of those who resort to them; and therefore many come to Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper, without at all realizing that they are in the exercise of that repentance and faith which are the conditions of all promised blessings; and so they continue in the use of the Lord's Supper without any comfortable evidence to themselves that they are growing in grace, or making any sensible progress in the Divine life. The idea is, that the use of the ordinances of the Church, irrespective of qualifications on the part of the receiver, will secure grace, and be attended with blessings. I can conceive of few things more ruinous to every reasonable hope of spiritual improvement. It is a delusion of the Devil, and receives no countenance whatever from any thing taught in our Offices and Articles when fairly understood.

In the Twenty-fifth Article of Religion it is said, "Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him."

It would seem that some persons from this language are led to attribute to the use of the sacraments a virtue and efficacy which surely the Church never intended to teach as belonging to them. They were not intended to inform us of the character and perfections of God, the nature of sin, of the incarnation, the atonement, faith, repentance, and holiness. These things are to be learned from the Word of God, that enlightener and informer of the human understanding, that "lantern to our feet and light unto our paths," that "undefiled law which converts the soul, that sure testimony of the Lord that giveth wisdom unto the simple." In short, there must be a proper degree of acquaintance with our own spiritual

nature, a knowledge of our wants as sinners, and of the plan of salvation through Christ, the exercise of repentance and faith, and a fixed purpose, by the Divine assistance, to lead a godly life, before we are duly prepared for Confirmation and the Lord's Supper. This is the lowest amount or degree of preparation with which any one ought to venture to approach these ordinances; and this we understand to constitute that worthiness of meetness which fits us to receive, and not that worthiness of qualifications which may entitle us to demand, this great and inestimable privilege of coming into the family of God, and of being "received as worthy partakers at His Holy Table." Those who rely so much upon the efficacy of the Sacraments as to countenance the idea that their administration is always and necessarily attended with benefits and blessings, might do well to consider the last clause of our Twenty-fifth Article in these words: "And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as saith St. Paul."

I am very far from wishing to discourage any, with right views of religion, from coming to the Rite of Confirmation. Indeed, the reluctance and timidity with which many are brought to the recognition and renewal of their baptismal vows, doubtless constitute the true reasons why Ministers are sometimes found too urgent in their persuasions upon this subject. I entreat you, brethren, to consider, that, where persons are confirmed with low and inadequate views of their religious obligations, they are seldom happy themselves, generally occasion deep concern and disquietude to the Ministry, and sometimes bring discredit upon their Christian profession. This is presenting the ill consequences of such a course in the least unfavorable aspect in which it can be viewed. I am firmly persuaded that in the desire to present a considerable number for this Rite, the Clergy sometimes overlook the careful preparation which is fairly demanded for it. There is a strong temptation to do this. A Minister is desirous of having all the members of his flock come to the discharge of their duty. His representations of the danger of procrastination and neglect are frequent and earnest. Many are moved to inquire "what they

must do to be saved;" and among these the Pastor not unfrequently finds it a task as ungracious as it is difficult to discriminate between those who are actuated by sound and enlightened views of the character and extent of Christian obligations, and others, who, without due examination and without counting the cost of what they are about to undertake, are influenced in their conduct by the lower considerations of a desire to please their friends and gratify their Minister.

It is exceedingly rare, therefore, that any one seeking is refused the Rite of Confirmation. Yet it is certain that it had been better for some, and for the Church, if they had been refused. Disguise it as we may, it is the fault of the Minister that they were not. It is impossible that the directions of the Church in this case can be mistaken. It is the bounden duty of each Parish Minister to know who is prepared or fit for Confirmation. Not only is all that which candidates for the laying-on of hands are required to know, declared in plain and explicit terms, as I have already stated; but it is, moreover, made the duty of the Minister either to "bring or send in writing, with his name subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his Parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the Bishop to be confirmed." Why all this particularity, if it be not to impress upon the mind the importance of more than ordinary care in this case? A list is to be made out, — a list to be made by the Minister; a list with his name subscribed. The Bishop is to take no other evidence of fitness. All indicates the greatest precaution on the part of the Church. Every thing shows that she expects her Ministers to be diligent and faithful. And those words of solemn admonition and warning, given at the time of their Ordination, should, methinks, be ringing in their ears on every occasion of Confirmation with startling distinctness: "And if any member of the Church do take any hurt or hindrance by reason of your negligence, ye know the greatness of the fault, and also the horrible punishment that will ensue."

We may add that the Office of Confirmation itself contemplates the same amount of preparation as having been made, of which we have been speaking, previous to its administration. None are allowed to be confirmed "till they come to years of discretion."

What is meant by this expression, we may learn from that great and good Bishop of our own Church, the distinguished Dr. Hobart of New York. "By this order," he says, "the Church evidently designs more than that they should be able merely to say the words of the Catechism. They must have a full knowledge of its *meaning.* And it embraces a comprehensive view of the plan of redemption, of Christian doctrine and duty, and of the privileges of Christians; these must be understood and realized before children can be qualified for receiving that holy Rite in which they pledge themselves to the belief of Christian doctrine, and to the practice of Christian duty, and in which their Christian privileges are assured to them. The age at which this knowledge can be attained, doubtless differs in different persons. And the particular age of admission to this Rite is not authoritatively determined. It seems necessary, however, to have some standard of age which children must attain before they can receive this Rite. And the age of fourteen is generally recommended by the Bishops of the Church."

The demand is made of each one, whether he acknowledges himself bound to believe and to do all things undertaken in Baptism; that is, not only the profession of a right faith, but the obligation to live a holy life. Than this, no more comprehensive and searching confession of Christ can be or need be required of any one. And then follows the prayer for the *increase* of the manifold gifts of grace; and immediately afterwards, the invocation of defence and *increase* daily in the Holy Spirit. What can such language signify, if it be not a strengthening, an increase, an adding to the work of Divine Grace already begun in the soul, and thus carried forward under the gracious influences of the Spirit of God, until he who is the happy subject of such a work arrives at the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus!

I conceive it, therefore, to be the bounden duty of Ministers, in presenting persons for the Rite of Confirmation, to satisfy themselves in every case that there exists something more than a willingness or a desire to be confirmed. There must not only be the required amount of intellectual preparation in having learned the Catechism, but likewise a reduction of that learning to practice.

The candidates should be students of the Word of God, when they can read and have leisure for it; they should be devotional in their daily habits; they should live constantly in the discharge of such duties of charity, and such acts of piety, as will convince themselves, as well as others, that they are in good earnest for the salvation of their souls, that they feel the need of Divine Grace to strengthen their weak resolutions and feeble efforts, and that they are seeking the ordinances of the Church to help them to lead godly and Christian lives. Such is the amount of preparation which is indispensable, in my judgment, for the worthy and profitable reception of the Rite of Confirmation. And I feel confident, that, if Ministers generally would so teach those committed to their charge, there would be far less depreciation of the value and efficacy of the ordinance itself, and far less reason to complain of the careless and ungodly lives of many who have sought its privileges.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.[1]

"Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein." — St. Mark x. 15.

If the only acceptable or admissible way in which an adult person can receive the kingdom of God be as a little child receives it, the inference, we think, is unavoidable, that little children are proper subjects of that kingdom. Upon this declaration of our Lord and Redeemer, in connection with the context, an unanswerable argument might be constructed in favor of the lawfulness of infant-baptism. But we propose to follow a different line of remark on this occasion, and to use these words of our Saviour as suggestive of a topic, than which few others can more fitly claim the serious consideration of a Christian assembly, or the anxious reflections of American citizens, or the deep and pious thoughts of the Right Reverend Fathers, Ministers, and brethren composing this council of the Church. It is *Christian education, or the training of the young in the way of holiness*, which forms our theme for remark.

This is not a subject which may or ought to awaken interest only in the bosoms of Christian parents. Its range is wide enough to embrace all the families of the land; and its relations extend to many other interests than those merely of domestic life. It is the boast of our countrymen, that their social well-being is not dependent for its source or for its continuance on the circumstances which may surround an individual. The term of a sovereign's life, or the state of his health, or the moral disposition of the heir-apparent, never enters into our anxieties or speculations respecting the happiness of ourselves, our families, or our

[1] Sermon before the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Va., Wednesday, Oct. 5, 1859.

country. But we should remember, for it concerns us all to know, that though the succession of power among us be silent, gradual, and unobserved, the human exponent, so to speak, is yet transient in its duration and susceptible of change. Many of us will probably live to see the sceptre of our civil condition transferred, and the destinies of this nation, social and religious, intellectual and moral, public and individual, pass into the hands of the little beings whose minds are now occupied with the toys of childhood. The next race of the sovereign people may be as degenerate as the successor of an absolute monarch. Nay, the voice of history proclaims the grave and impressive lesson, that the glories of republics have been evanescent, — that their energies have become effete and languid in the transmission through fewer generations than those of some hereditary dynasties. They seem to resemble those vegetable productions which bloom more magnificently, and bear a richer fruitage, but arrive at earlier decay and decrepitude. How shall we, on whom the care of ours is now incumbent, maintain the vital principle with undiminished healthfulness and vigor, that it may flourish for us, and for those who follow after us?

There is but one method, and that method is obvious: it is easy, and it is secure, if faithfully pursued. Here, within our reach, under our almost unlimited control, and in a ductile state, is the very material on whose shape the stability of our institutions must depend. The alternative is before us, either to leave that material to be moulded by external circumstances highly unfavorable, or to give it form by that plastic touch of *education*, whose moral impress the droppings of time can never efface, nor any stroke of accident destroy. "The child is father to the man." The foundation of character and destiny, of every individual element of that rational multitude whose mind will sway the world of thirty years hence, will be laid permanently and indestructibly before it has attained the twelfth year of its being. Subsequent influences may strengthen or impair that foundation, but they never can displace it. For the characters of men do not result from their own investigations; the patterns are not selected and approved by a mature judgment: they are formed by the com-

bined development of those associations and sympathies of childhood, from whose abiding influence no reasonings or efforts of mature years will ever entirely emancipate them. You must communicate, or you must withhold from that wave of human society which follows after you, and will soon rise in your place, those principles whose infusion will make it pure, and whose absence will cause it to spread bitterness, corruption, and desolation wherever it rolls.

What are those principles, and how are they to be communicated? We have said that the rising generation must be *educated;* but we do not use the word in its popular acceptation. We never employ it in the degraded sense, now so current, which excludes the discipline of the *heart:* and we now use it without reference to merely intellectual culture; our present concern being with that sort of education which improves and exalts the character, not that which fills the memory and enlarges the understanding. I know that it is a cherished idea in this country, that sound morals and extended knowledge are inseparable as cause and effect; and that the consciences of men are enlightened to discern evil, and armed to resist it, by merely storing their minds with learning. *Virtue* and *intelligence* are the strong pillars on which rest the social edifice of our country; and, to make society virtuous, we must make men intelligent. This is the favorite maxim reiterated by the lips of every social reformer of the age, by every aspirant to popular favor and political distinction. With much of truth in the aphorism, there are mingled with it elements which in their practical development are exceedingly dangerous, and make it, in fact, the most perilous sophism of our age and country. We meet with it everywhere; we hear it almost daily in conversation; it abounds in all the secular and in most of the religious journals which circulate through the land; it is assumed in popular addresses, lurks in legislative enactments, and is sanctioned by the erection of seminaries of learning which seem intended for beings purely intellectual, callous to all passions, and destitute of all propensities, — institutions where every mental faculty is tilled with minute and systematic industry, while the whole moral nature is left a wilderness in which the most noxious weeds may spring

up and multiply. Knowledge, knowledge alone, is proclaimed to be the unfailing protector of all rights, the kind and nursing parent of all virtues, the certain cure for every malady that can infest human society.

Now, we hold this to be a sophism, false in theory and fatal in experiment, whose increasing prevalence is just cause of alarm to reflecting minds, and which it is the duty of all who stand responsible for the interests of their fellow-beings, both temporal and eternal, to resist loudly and strenuously. As an instrument to promote physical and mental enjoyment, knowledge has genuine worth, amply sufficient to attract the pursuit of men, and afford matter for rational approval, without making pretensions which are absurd and dangerous. That intelligence is a lever, which, properly applied, may sustain and elevate the public morals, is an obvious verity; but it has no moral character and no moral preference of its own. It may be abused, and may be employed in the work of demolition as well as of construction. Its results derive their moral tendency from the moral agency by which the instrument is wielded; that is, the moral effects of intelligence depend upon the very circumstances of which this sophism affirms them to be decisive. It is servant to that of which it is said to be master. It is the clay, instead of the potter, in the formation of the social character. Show me, by reasoning or by experiment, the *sequence* which is claimed to exist between intellectual wealth and moral purity. Take a child, and teach him the truths of mathematical science. Will you thus make him abhor fraud and falsehood? Teach him natural philosophy, and will you thereby extinguish selfishness and malice, or infuse purity of thought and modesty of demeanor? Teach him the abstractions of moral science, and will you thereby impart the will and the power to perform moral duties? Surely not. But now try a different process. Let him be removed from the contact of every irreligious impulse and association. Let him be environed as much as possible by "whatsoever things are pure, just, true, honest, lovely, and of good report." Carry him to the Word of God for a standard of morals, perfect, unalterable, and eternal, founded not on the speculations of man, but on the *dictum* of Omniscience; send him to

the throne of grace, and thither let parent and teacher repair *with* him by their example, and *for* him by their prayers. And what results may you then rationally anticipate? In the human character, instead of the antagonist principles of intelligence and vice mingling harmoniously to make the compound more offensive, you infuse the religious principle, and every thing gross is neutralized and precipitated; every thing noxious is expelled, and the character acquires a permanent purity and transparency. Now, what is true of the individual element must be true of the uniform mass. For a people without intelligence, the range of physical and intellectual enjoyment must be circumscribed; but the purity of morals, the authority of the laws, that fireside happiness which, after all, is the most precious of social treasures, need not be impaired or jeopardized. Nay, those tracts of man's history on which both reason and imagination dwell with the most unalloyed complacency are not those most resplendent with the illumination of letters, and polished by the arts of civilized life. It is in communities where ignorance and poverty have been ennobled by a pure and beautiful simplicity of manners, that we must look for the most illustrious examples of patriotism, and the most lovely portraitures of domestic peace. But what would be the condition of a community destitute of religion? This is a picture which requires to be exhibited in a strong light, and seriously pondered, — a society in which religion is supplanted in its peculiar functions by a power utterly incompetent for their performance! Let not your imaginations wander far away to savage tribes, in search of an actual example of the conditions of the hypothesis. The most blinded and depraved, whose abode is marked on the map of any continent, or whose character is portrayed in the annals of any age, are not without religion. God hath not left them entirely without witness; and we hesitate not to affirm, that in the most horrible and distorted creed, considered as a *system*, that ever deluded mankind, there are yet fountains of truth, and plants of nourishment, and fences of beneficial restraint over the corrupt propensities of man, which render it far better adapted to his moral nature than the sickly and sterile wastes of a libertine atheism.

We must suppose a case, — and, in order to conceive the effects of a perfect religious darkness in their most shocking and fearful manifestations, we must come nearer home than the haunts of savage life, — we must suppose a case where the energies of mind are the most powerful, and the lights of civilization are the most brilliant, and the inmost penetralia of the shrine of knowledge are freely and generally approached. In such a country, suppose that the hearts of the people should suddenly become callous to the power and their eyes blinded to the light of religion; that every religious institution should be overthrown; that every religious restraint should be cast loose; that every religious impression which hearts the most abandoned and dissolute now receive from the contact of sacred things, were effaced entirely; that the mild radiance which Christianity now diffuses over the whole surface of society should be curtained from the world, so that Christian example should have no weight, Christian sentiments exercise no purifying and elevating control, Christian education be robbed of the restraining influences which no lapse of time and no degree of wickedness can now avail to sunder; so that all these refined and intelligent people should rely for their moral guidance entirely on intellectual light, and for moral support entirely on intellectual strength; checked by no fears but worldly fears; moved by no inducements but sublunary inducements; bound by no laws but human laws; having no desires or thoughts but such as are of the earth earthy, — what picture would such a community present to our contemplation! Like the artist who started back horror-stricken from the picture which his own pencil had painted, we should shrink from the contemplation of scenes which no language could depict, no tongue describe. We should behold the torches of intelligence elevated not to enlighten, but brandished to consume; the ardor of enterprise rushing not to the tasks of industry, but of plunder; the vigor of thought strained not to construct, but to ruin; the attractions of art displayed not to refine, but to pollute and deprave; political freedom enjoyed not for security, but abused to the destruction of both civil and personal rights; every human emotion centred in self, every barrier of law overleaped, every moral restraint relaxed or severed, every noble sentiment extinct,

every vicious propensity rioting in the openness of day; nothing criminal but weakness, nothing wretched but innocence; every tie that binds man to man sundered, every principle of justice disregarded, every cry for mercy stifled, every temple of piety violated, every defence of purity torn down and trampled under foot, and every sanctuary of the affections invaded and desecrated. Such we may conceive to be the faintly shadowed but shocking scene of moral desolation, of brutal degradation, which any civilized people would exhibit if its religion were abolished, and its intelligence were retained and raised to the highest point of attainment. The greater their intelligence, the more hopeless and abandoned would be their wretchedness; for every blessing of civilization would be transformed into a curse. Every instrument that now improves and adorns society would become a weapon to pierce its vitals. The truth of the matter, as obvious to reason under the guiding light of revelation, and as demonstrated by history, is precisely the reverse of the popular idea. Knowledge has never preceded virtue, and it has never survived it; and whenever the pure principle of virtue has ceased to be mingled with the oil of intelligence, the lamp has expired in the corrupt atmosphere which its own foul effluvium had created. Knowledge will vanish away, but virtue or charity never faileth.

I have dwelt the longer on this matter, because the error I have attempted to expose is a prevalent and dangerous one; of whose results, unless very soon checked, this nation will in a few years be made lamentably, mournfully, and wofully sensible.[1] It is advocated sometimes explicitly, and often impliedly, by men who are set as watchmen for the defence of society from the incursions of moral and religious evil; and yet it virtually admits the claims of infidelity. It is precisely the principle which was preached by sceptics of the last century, and was in truth the fruitful parent of that direful progeny of evils which the world witnessed

[1] Public sentiment not only originates the law, but actually controls its operation. Hence the prevalence of a healthy moral sentiment is indispensable to the due execution of the laws. Let the moral tone of society become universally or generally depraved, and all vitality is gone from the laws, and there is no power in this nation to execute them.

in the excesses and horrors of the French Revolution. Let the claims of secular knowledge be advanced on their proper grounds. There is room enough for zeal, and motive enough for exertion, in that cause, without elevating intelligence to the post which religion alone is adequate to maintain; without supplanting the wisdom of Christ, who teaches us that we must become as little children in order to enter His kingdom; for that knowledge of the world which puffs up, and nourishes pride instead of humility; without substituting the light of reason for the dictates of conscience; without commending the diffusion of intelligence as something more important to the interests of society and individual happiness than the cultivation of charity and the fear of God. That healthy moral sentiment, which, as a perennial fountain, sends forth fertilizing streams through all the fields of human action, and imparts vigor to every enterprise of benevolence, springs from a "faith in God, which works by love, purifies the heart, and overcomes the world." The genial warmth which spreads its vivifying and fructifying influences over the whole scene of Christian efforts, extending now

> "From Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand,
> From Afric's sunny fountains to China's teeming land,"

is an emanation from the "bright Sun of righteousness," and not from the glimmering taper of this world's wisdom. In a word, the Bible is the text-book of the science of the heart; and the lessons of wisdom which it imparts are of more value, I do not hesitate to affirm, than all the secular knowledge gained by the people of this powerful confederacy of States, in the many thousands of seminaries throughout the land, and from which its teachings are excluded six days in every week.

But, vast as are the moral and social benefits of early religious culture, they constitute not the chief motives to encouragement in the work of training the young. Children have souls to be saved, as well as duties to perform to society. To those whose thoughts are exercised seriously about the things of another life, the chief and engrossing subject of anxiety is, not how children may be made respectable and prosperous during their abode on earth, but

how they may become fellow-citizens of the saints, and fitted for the society of heaven. And however their right of baptism may be questioned, the ground is fearlessly assumed, that, if all the conditions of the covenant are faithfully met and discharged by those who have the care of them, we may as certainly and as confidently look for a blessing on efforts for their spiritual improvement, as for the full development of their faculties and powers in other things. To the labor of Christian education in this highest view, we have the most animating encouragement. The conviction of success, it is true, is an exercise of our faith, and not a part of our knowledge; the responsibility for their own souls will ultimately devolve on the children themselves, and God only knows how they will sustain it. Our present efforts and prayers will not be alone effectual; but that intercessory prayer and Christian education are means through which the gifts of the Spirit are very freely bestowed, and that the faithful use of these means affords the strongest encouragement for expecting it, is what no Christian can reasonably doubt. We must not forget, indeed, that the whole work of religion is not performed by the inculcation of truth and the culture of moral sensibility. We know and lament that there are too many to be found, whose minds have been enlightened by the truth, softened by the spirit, and embellished by the ornaments of Christianity, and who yet have never received the Gospel as the principle of a new and holy life; and it will be found further, that this perilous and unhappy state is owing simply to an obstinate refusal of the means of grace, and the resistance they make to the Author of all grace. Still, while we perform our duty in conveying religious instruction to the mind of the child, we know that his heart will be much better prepared hereafter to receive and profit by the influences of the Spirit of God.

Truths instilled in childhood live forever in the memory. They are interwoven with all the sensibilities of the soul. They are the fortress of the conscience, not impregnable, but indestructible. They furnish the mind with chords which never cease to vibrate to the touch of faithful expostulation. They are an inextinguishable spark, which, after being seemingly smothered under a mass of corruption, are often revived, by providential circumstances, to

a pure flame of piety. We cannot pluck up the *roots* of evil, but we may prune and repress its developments. We may soften the soil in which heavenly seed must germinate, and make it pervious to the dews of Divine grace. The work is noble, the hopes are strong and scriptural, the duty is imperative, and the machinery to be employed is all of heavenly temper and Divine appointment.

From the days of the Apostles downward, the Church's care of little children has been assumed as an eminent duty. Timothy, from a child, was instructed in the Holy Scriptures. We read of certain persons called *helpers*, — as Priscilla, Aquila, and Urbane, — who are reasonably presumed to have held the office of *catechist*, which was universal in the early ages of the Church; and ever since the Reformation it has been the prescribed duty of the Ministers of the Church, "diligently on Sundays to instruct and examine the children" of the Parish in the *Catechism* prepared for that special purpose, and which contains in itself perhaps the most complete summary of Christian doctrines and duties ever brought together in the same compass. Bring before your minds the immense multitude of Ministers and Catechists and teachers employed in this work, wherever the seas thunder round the world, or winds sweep over the habitations of men, — the countless numbers of children collected weekly together to be taught. Think of the prayers, the admonitions, the lessons, in which this unnumbered mass of living and immortal beings are every Sunday engaged. Reflect on the pious impressions which these holy occupations must make on instructors and children, — their accumulating knowledge of Divine things; their diligent investigation and explanation of religious truth; this employment of holy time, in holy things, when that time might be misemployed in the things of the world; the rebounding influence of pious children upon their parents and others; the amount of moral and religious sentiment thus communicated; the silent but sure operation of that sentiment imperceptibly finding its way to millions of hearts, and insensibly moulding the temper and controlling the conduct of those millions of accountable and rational living beings, and these in their turn influencing other millions to come after, — and can you conceive, by any effort of mind, a moral spectacle of more

imposing grandeur and soul-stirring sublimity? Are we not justified in offering the prayer, and in indulging the hope, that the incense thus rising to the throne of God may, by His blessing, burst forth over the guilty millions of our world, without limit and without restraint, in heavenly benediction, its sanctifying influences be felt in human institutions, mingle itself with all social elements, regulate all the pulsations of feeling, consecrate all political movements, exalt all the productions of science and learning, purify every intellectual and moral enterprise, and communicate heaven's peace and gladness to every nation, every family, and every heart? Can we employ a more powerful consideration to move the Church, its Ministry, and its members, to undertake and vigorously prosecute this glorious work commanded by Christ, blessed of God, and indispensable to man?

"Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein."

To a Christian mind, the world is one great seminary, in which immortal souls are to be trained for higher and nobler scenes. The eyes of the infant are opened to the external world in a true *primary* school, — a school devised and established by Infinite Wisdom. It is the *family* institution. Children have souls and bodies, and there they both may be cared for. They are connected with *two* worlds, and there they may be trained for both. *Two* persons are appointed by *Divine Providence* to perform this task of *training*. *Two* are united to the little and dependent being by indissoluble ties, — *two* teachers, whose love no restiveness of the child can alienate, whose assiduity no weariness can overcome, to whom all sacrifices for his good are a pleasure, who receive a reward in their own hearts for every effort. Perfect dependence on one side, and perfect love and sympathy on the other, combine to give almost omnipotent force to the instruction which is imparted.

The *family circle* is the *nursery* for heaven. There the infant heart is moulded in its moral sensibilities; there the sympathies and affections all germinate and bud; and there all the ties are formed, and strengthen daily, which bind the little pupil to man and to God, to time and to eternity. In secret from the world's prying

gaze, under the eyes of those only whom God appoints, the tender plant grows up, soon to be transplanted to the paradise of God, or to be cast out and withered forever. There, in the family circle, is not only the home of the affections, the fountain of earthly bliss, not only the source of social security and national prosperity: it is the birthplace of man's character, and of his eternal destiny. All other institutions are of human origin, and may be changed or abolished; but this which God has instituted, blessed, and sanctified, may not be touched by the presuming wisdom or the rash hand of man, without incurring the entailed curse of Heaven. All other instruction may be voluntary or purchased; but from this there can be no shrinking and no release, without inevitable punishment, and that of the direst kind. The little plaything which smiling parents dandle on the knee has a thinking, feeling soul, which must think and feel forever, in heaven or in hell. Into their hands it was given, and at their hands it will be required again. God has established the school, appointed the teachers, and commanded them to train the pupils whom He commits to their care, in His nurture and admonition. If this trust be betrayed, think what your feelings must be, when your children shall come weeping around your dying beds, and you stretch forth your trembling hands to bid them a last adieu, and you shall feel their kind and warm embrace no more! Think how you will answer for your neglect to God, when your own soul shall have passed "the grave, and gate of death," and eternity shall have closed in, with all its dark and changeless solemnities, on the spirits of the saved and of the lost!

TRUST IN GOD THE ONLY SAFETY OF NATIONS.

"Our fathers hoped in Thee: they trusted in Thee, and Thou didst deliver them. They called upon Thee, and were holpen: they put their trust in Thee, and were not confounded." — Ps. xxii. 4, 5.

In the pilgrimage of life, man reaches certain standpoints where it is natural and useful for him to pause and reflect. The succession of night and day, the changes of the seasons, the beginning of a new year, all mark periods in human existence which suggest topics suitable for calm and profitable consideration.

We occupy a position to-day,[1] beloved brethren and hearers, which calls us to think of the future, and to meditate on the past. By summoning before our minds the events of past years, and carefully marking the circumstances that attended and afterwards followed them, we may perhaps anticipate, with some degree of certainty, the occurrences which will probably distinguish the year upon which we are entering; we may avoid errors into which we have fallen; we may guard against some dangers which lie in our paths. The power thus to review the past, and from the present to look forward to the future, and to take counsel from the lights of experience and from the suggestions of prudence, is a faculty that distinguishes man from all inferior animals: it is an evident proof of "*the divinity that stirs within him*," an indication of something heaven-born, that seeks communion with a spirit free from the impurities and grossness of earthly things. Happy the man who so employs this noble faculty as to learn lessons of heavenly wisdom, to guide him through the darkness and troublous scenes of time to the bliss and glory of a better world!

Our text contains a very forcible and distinct recognition of the superintendence of a wise and gracious Providence over the affairs of man. This recognition respects not merely an individual but

[1] Sunday, Jan. 1, 1860.

a national acknowledgment of the Divine care and protection. "*Our fathers hoped in Thee: they trusted in Thee, and Thou didst deliver them.*" It is the grateful language of children in the enjoyment of deliverance and blessings vouchsafed to them through the mercy and grace bestowed on their fathers, and urging this as a plea for continued help and protection. This, it seems to me, is the first and most obvious reflection which springs naturally from any meditation we may bestow upon the past events of our national history. Surely, if any people have had occasion to rejoice and be glad for the Divine favor and blessings, we are pre-eminently that people. With every advantage of soil, and every variety of climate and production, a government framed to secure equal rights and privileges to all its citizens, freedom of conscience, liberty of speech and action, assured to all; with such restraints, only, as are indispensable to the common welfare, — what element is wanting to individual happiness or national prosperity and glory?

Yet, at a time when the field for enterprise was never wider or more inviting, all the arts of life never in more successful operation, all branches of industry never pushed forward more vigorously, or trade and commerce never more active, our public affairs have suddenly assumed a dark and gloomy aspect. The apprehension of changes, bringing disaster to all our most fondly cherished hopes, and threatening the overthrow and ruin of our civil institutions, has arrested the attention of men in all the walks of life, and almost compels reflection. On every hand we hear the inquiry, "What is left us, on which to lay the foundation of hope for our future peace and stability?" Let us, beloved brethren, bring to this subject profound thought, calm reflection, earnest and devout prayer. The day may not be distant, God only knoweth, which will summon us to determined and vigorous action, as well as patient suffering.

The American Revolution evolved principles in reference to the rights of mankind, and the reciprocal duties of rulers and subjects, and the ultimate obligations upon which obedience to law is required, which have greatly elevated men in their social, civil, and moral relations, enlarged their views, and have had the effect of wonderfully ameliorating the human condition throughout the

world. The encroachments of barbarism have been pushed back, and civilization advanced. At the same time, responsibility, in all the relations spoken of, has been correspondingly enlarged, and the danger of disregarding duty just as much enhanced. Brief as the annals of our Republic may be, they will bear witness to the truth, that "*when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice: but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn.*" [1]

It is the province of the historian to discuss the causes of the momentous event to which we have referred, and which has changed the face of the civilized world. It is the work of the philosopher to unfold their operation in the development of their proper results. It is the duty of the enlightened statesman to guard their practical application in the affairs of government. The prosecution of our present purpose leads us to enter into none of these departments of rational inquiry, however useful and interesting.

It is a truth which, we think, must be obvious to all minds, that the decided and unanimous sentiment with which, as a nation, we abhor the unnatural connection between religion and civil institutions, which embarrasses the movements of both, is characterized by a jealousy and sensitiveness, for which there is no justification in the circumstances and tendencies of our country. Certain it is, that, in regard to the Episcopal Church, she has no vast resources, no lucrative sinecures, no sounding titles, or social immunities, to excite patriotic apprehensions. Strike the average of ministerial emolument among us, and it will be seen to fall below the usual proceeds of mechanical industry; and in many instances, where the Clergyman has expended his whole patrimony to fit himself for his proper work, and devotes the whole of his time and talents to the spiritual improvement of the people who have engaged his services, his labors are not rewarded by the hire of a menial for the same period! And to encourage him in his "work and labor of love," he is sometimes cheered in his toil by the volunteered remark, "*He preaches for money!*"

The plain truth, however, is, that if there be any thing in the

[1] Prov. xxix. 2.

principles of any Christian society among us, to detach it from political entanglements, we make bold to say, in the Episcopal Church there is much more. Such entanglements are abhorrent from the leading principle, which, next to Holy Scripture, is the guide of her course. That principle is *primitive usage*. The Church Catholic, as we find in the Acts of the Apostles, was founded on the *voluntary system*. During her primal purity, her institutions were supported by the free-will offerings of Christians, and she received no notice from the State, except that of contempt and persecution. Constantine, who ascended the imperial throne about two hundred years after the death of St. John, was the author of that union of religion and government, which, since the dissolution of his colossal empire, has been kept up in all its fragments. From that time Christianity declined, — declined not only in the harmony of its professors, but in moral influence and spiritual purity. The experience of all succeeding ages demonstrates that the connection of Church and State works injury to the civil rights and social happiness of mankind; but the same experience also teaches that the political evil is as nothing compared with the detriment to religion. It is from a deep-felt conviction of the injury thus resulting, that some of the wisest and most influential clergy of the Church of England have, for years past, labored most vigorously for the re-establishment of *convocation*, in order that the Church, being freed from the incubus of the government, might exercise the right, enjoyed by all other religious bodies in the realm, of *discipline over its own members*. To do this is an indefeasible right of every Christian society, and results, of necessity, from that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.[1]

The Gospel is alone in its origin, for God is the Author of Christianity. Alone it ought to be in its movements. It seeks not the wisdom of cabinets, nor the strong arm of the civil power, to effect its objects. It asks to be let alone, to do its work in its own way, and by its own instruments. It calls only for an open field, a clear arena in which to contend for victory over the enemies

[1] St. Matt. xvii. 24–27.

of truth and righteousness. In such a conflict Christianity has never failed, "for God is her helper and defender." Whatever does not proceed from the same Divine source can only corrupt and defile. Therefore it is, that the newly concocted systems of our day, which make pretensions to a purer morality, and affect more efficacious means than those of the Gospel, — exacting on pretended moral grounds what the Gospel has not required, and condemning what it has not forbidden, — are never so much as mentioned in the councils of the Episcopal Church. Her sanctuaries she holds to be the houses of God; and they are open to no business of any description but that of the Gospel, — not even for eulogies of Washington, nor Fourth-of-July orations. Her Ministers, as she solemnly tells them, are ambassadors for Christ; and they are allowed to busy themselves in the dissemination of no doctrines but those of the Bible, as she has interpreted its meaning, in her general councils, and by the consentient agreement of her members; "*always, everywhere, and by all.*" Although other matters may be commendable in themselves, they must seek, for their consideration, other places than her pulpits, and other agents than her Ministers, appointed to the furtherance of objects specifically Divine in their purpose, and with which nothing merely human can be associated without causing defilement.

From the operation of this principle, it follows, that the Protestant Episcopal Church has no co-operation with the various organizations for moral reform, so highly commended to public notice, and so common in this age and country. Her members, as a general rule, abstain from any connection with them; and, in obedience to the *command* of the Apostle,[1] withdraw themselves from those who walk disorderly, and not after the traditions which they have received of the Apostles of Christ. Hence they have frequently to bear the reproach, most unjustly cast upon them, of lukewarmness to the Gospel; of opposition to the objects of temperance societies, revivals of religion, Evangelical alliances, associations, called national or American, formed to publish and circulate books, and which in some instances have been found to

[1] 2 Thess. iii. 6.

be fruitful of much pecuniary gain to their masters. Episcopalians are taught to believe that God established the Church, and committed to it the Word, Ministry, and Sacraments, for the reformation of the world and for the salvation of men; and that it would be wrong in them to abandon institutions of Divine appointment for other instrumentalities having only the stamp of human authority and the recommendation of man's wisdom. In short, we hold the plea of expediency, and the whole kindred train of commendations founded upon the probable amount of good to be accomplished by these human devices and agencies, to be wholly irrelevant, where God has spoken, and His Church has acted in submission to His revealed will and published authority. Had we acted on other principles, those subjects which are now the prolific source of political agitation, gathering in our horizon dark and threatening clouds, portentous of evil, and of ruin even, to the State, would long since have found a place of entertainment in our pulpits, and thence have made an easy and ready way of introduction into our ecclesiastical councils. Such has, unhappily, been the case with other religious bodies around us.

The attempts which have been made in this direction, heretofore, among Churchmen, have been signally rebuked. In one instance, when a popular minister in one of our largest congregations, in the city of Philadelphia, made the difficulties in Kansas the theme of his discourse, it was met by the protest of one of the Wardens present; and the matter ended by the withdrawal of the Clergyman, upon the expressed wish of a majority of the congregation. The last instance was an attempt, by resolution, to introduce a discussion upon the subject of slavery into the Convention of New York in the month of September last. The diocese of New York, by reason of its numbers and wealth, is perhaps the strongest and most influential in our Union. The author and mover of the resolution had courteous leave to withdraw his motion, by the vote of every member present but his own. If the same wise and prudent counsels, excluding questions which gender civil discord and strife, shall prevail, as heretofore, in the legislation of the Church, and her Ministers and members shall, in their ecclesiastical organization, still confine

their proceedings to the objects which properly belong to them, as we devoutly trust they may, we venture to say that the day is yet far distant which will mark the dissolution of our Union of confederated Dioceses, a Union for which measures were in progress before the adoption of our Federal Constitution, which exerted a happy and powerful influence in consummating that great object, and which is destined, perhaps, in God's gracious Providence, to furnish one of the strongest bands for its preservation. For, in some instances, the wisdom and judgment of the same men[1] were employed in the construction of both instruments; and though ambition, passion, and fanaticism may demolish the fabric of our civil freedom, we are persuaded that our Church organization will remain firm and unbroken, amidst all the storms and convulsions which sweep over the political world, rend into fragments the colossal erections of human power, and overthrow the proudest and loftiest structures projected by the wisdom and consolidated by the combined strength and skill of man!

The full bearing and import of these remarks will not, probably, be understood and appreciated by the majority of my hearers, without a few words of explanation. Within three years after the termination of the war of independence, conventions were held by ministers and members of the Church, from several of the States, for the purpose of organization, for the formation of a Constitution, and the adoption of measures to obtain the Consecration of Bishops. These proceedings led *first* to the election and subsequently the consecration of Dr. Seabury of Connecticut, by the Bishops of the Church of Scotland, at Aberdeen, in 1784; *secondly*, to the election of Dr. White of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Provoost of New York; and afterwards their consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Bishops assisting, at Lambeth, in 1787. Thus was a Church organization completed in three separate and independent States. This led, *thirdly*, to the meeting of a General Convention, composed of the Bishops recently consecrated, and of clerical and lay deputies from seven States, in July and September, 1789; when our present Constitu-

[1] Hons. John Rutledge and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, and Hon. David Brearley of New Jersey.

tion (except the slight amendments since made) was adopted, Canons passed, and the Prayer Book set forth to be used in all our congregations. The Convention which framed the Federal Constitution met in 1787. That instrument was adopted by eleven States in 1788, and went into operation April 30, 1789. Thus it will be seen that our Ecclesiastical Constitution was established the same year with the organization of the Federal Government. It may be naturally asked, How comes it to pass, that the administration of the one has proceeded harmoniously, regularly, and successfully, with scarcely any disturbing questions, for more than threescore and ten years; while that of the other has been attended with strife, violent agitation, and finally by the introduction of subjects for discussion which threaten disruption and the severance of those ties by which our fathers sought to bind us together as a family of brothers? I answer the question, in the words of a distinguished layman,[1] and member of our late General Convention: —

"The Church has done what the Nation has not done. It has abstained wholly and absolutely from any interference with local affairs, local interests, local opinions, and local institutions of any of the separate Dioceses. The laity of this American Church holds it among its highest secular duties, to do all it possibly can to preserve unbroken the unity of its great depository, the American Republic; to avert from this Western world the most tremendous evil it can ever endure, — the dissolution of the American Union; not by mingling in earthly controversy, but by unceasingly inculcating the blessed spirit of justice and moderation, Christian charity, and fraternal love."

Noble sentiments! nobly spoken! worthy the occasion, the man, and the body to which they were addressed!

It is a little remarkable, that during the session of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, while the members were embarrassed by difficulties and conflicts of opinion that filled the minds of the most sanguine with discouragement and retarded the progress of their work, Dr. Benjamin Franklin

[1] Hon. Mr. Ruggles of New York.

arose in his place, and after stating, in most plain and forcible language, the troubles and embarrassments that environed them, and the necessity of calm deliberation and wisdom to guide them, proposed, with great seriousness of manner, that the President should call in the aid of the Clergy to open their daily sessions with prayer, and invoke the blessing and favor of God upon their deliberations. The proposal was received with unanimous acceptance. How admirably appropriate are the words of my text, as a commentary upon this act: "*Our fathers hoped in Thee: they trusted in Thee, and Thou didst deliver them. They called upon Thee, and were holpen: they put their trust in Thee, and were not confounded.*" Perhaps, since the world began, human wisdom has not devised a more admirable frame of government, or one more suitable to meet the existing exigencies and subsequent wants of our population, than the labors of that Convention exhibit. But the framers of that instrument were men who feared God, and reverenced His law. They contemplated a republic of Christians, — at least, of virtuous and intelligent people, — for whom they were legislating. It never entered into their minds that such an excrescence as Mormonism, foul, brutal, and blasphemous, would ever grow upon the body politic which they were fashioning out of the rude materials and disordered fragments of government, left to them from the convulsions and devastations of a revolution. They did not suppose that a time would ever come when Christianity would cease to exert a controlling and salutary influence over the laws and institutions of this country, and the conduct of its people. The thought that infidelity would ever sway the sceptre of power over this nation, by the voluntary consent and expressed will of a free people, never obtruded itself upon their reflections. Had they supposed this, even as a remote probability, they were men of sagacity and wisdom enough to perceive that a different Constitution from the one they gave us would be demanded. Infidelity can be curbed and restrained only by standing armies, by the strong hand and iron heart of a relentless despotism. Our forefathers sought for far different agencies to insure "protection to life, limb, and property," under the government which they estab-

lished. They looked to an enlightened moral sentiment among the people, founded upon the diffusion of intelligence, in connection with the solemn sanctions of the Christian religion, to impart efficacy to the laws, and insure their due and regular execution. They supposed that the primary school and the academy and the college would collect the youth of the country from every homestead in the land, embracing alike the mansions of opulence and the rude log cabins of the wilderness; and that faithful teachers would instruct the children of freedom in the knowledge of their rights and privileges, their duties and responsibilities. They hoped that the temples of religion would crown the summits of all our hills, and lift their spires from all our towns and villages, and that the sweet voice of Christian praise would be heard swelling the offerings of prayer and thanksgiving, as they rose, like a vast and homogeneous cloud of incense, from the hearts and lips of grateful millions to the throne of the Eternal! The hopes of our fathers have not been altogether disappointed. Their trust has not been wholly vain. Hitherto the Lord hath helped. For more than threescore and ten years our country has enjoyed a measure of prosperity, in the increase of its population, and the rapid development of its resources and power, without a parallel in history, and unequalled in the annals of nations.

Look to our past and present surroundings, beloved brethren, and then consider with yourselves what ought to be the conclusions and the duty of every man among us. Within the memory of those now living, the thirteen Colonies, bordering on our Atlantic coast, were engaged in a terrific conflict for freedom with the most formidable power in the world. For the justice and maintenance of the declaration which our fathers then made, they appealed to the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, and they pledged to each other in its support — what? The spoils of vanquished enemies? No! The emoluments of office? No! The elevation of partisan favorites to places of power and trust? No! But their own "LIVES, THEIR FORTUNES, AND THEIR MOST SACRED HONOR!" Oh for the kindling of that same spirit again in the hearts of our countrymen! There was no question then raised about local privileges, sectional rights, or domestic institutions.

Shoulder to shoulder, the cool and calculating New-Englander and the fiery and impetuous Southron stood in the serried ranks of war; and the slave, by the side of his master, met the fierce onset of battle, and dealt the death-blow to the common enemy. Their blood flowed in the same curdling streams on the field of carnage. Together they endured the same piercing colds of winter; marked the same snow-clad plains with their bleeding feet; bivouacked on the same frozen ground without tents to shelter or blankets to cover them, and arose, hunger-bitten, to resume their weary march in retreat before a superior and victorious foe, or hasten to the protection of helpless women and children from the murderous tomahawk or scalping-knife of merciless savages! "*They called upon the Lord, and were holpen: they put their trust in God, and were not confounded.*"

Those thirteen feeble and struggling Colonies have grown into thirty-two States, united together under a Constitution, for "forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defence, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty to themselves and posterity," — a Constitution ordained and established by the people themselves in their sovereign capacity, and recognized as their act. It is an instrument which, for its profound wisdom, far-reaching sagacity, and wonderful adaptation to secure the legitimate ends of government, may fairly challenge the admiration of the world.

Our territory now stretches across the continent, from ocean to ocean; while, from the frozen regions on the north to the sunny plains of the South, is found every variety of climate and of production for the gratification of taste, the support of animal life, to stimulate enterprise, or reward honest industry. Situated between two oceans, one washing the lands where all the arts of civilized life have received the most attention and attained the greatest perfection, where science and skill have combined to contribute their stores most abundantly to the comfort of man; and the other laving with its blue waves the shores of Asia, with its countless inhabitants, reckoned by hundreds of millions, and pregnant with its rich and exhaustless stores of wealth, — our country thus

placed, if we are not faithless to our trust, must become the middle ground on which the nations of the earth will find a central depot for their productions and commerce.

Have we reflected also, that, since the progress of our national development and growth began, the inventive genius of man has brought to light, and laid at our feet, as if for our more especial benefit, the most important agents for advancement in all the pursuits and occupations which elevate individual character, or promote national exaltation? With a mighty continent to occupy, vast wildernesses to penetrate, immense forests to fell and subdue, mighty rivers to make navigable, roads to construct, and intercourse to be established, we stood in peculiar need of labor. The invention of the cotton-gin enables the cotton-grower in a day to perform the labor of months in preparing that article for market. The application of steam to machinery and navigation is a giant's stride in the same direction: it is equivalent to the employment of millions of hands in the pursuits of industry, and elevates the cotton-plant, by the use of the steam-power loom, into the commercial staple of the world. It is said to be the grand regulator of trade. It furnishes the readiest, the cheapest, and the best article for supplying clothes to the people of every clime, to the barbarian and the civilized, to the bond or the free man. How wonderful the working of God's providence! The labor of the negro is made tributary to the work of supplying his nude countryman in Africa with clothing, thereby inspiring him with self-respect, and thus opening the way for the introduction of Christianity and civilization.

Next comes the telegraph, to bear intelligence on the lightning's wings, swifter than the flight of time, wherever a wire can be stretched, or a pole raised for its support. What more do we want in the way of material advantages? Do you think that all these blessings were obtained at little or no cost? I tell you, No! Like the blessing of all blessings, — Redemption, — they were gained at the price of blood! They were purchased at the expense of the sufferings and treasure, the tears and blood, of a seven years' war; by the labors and sacrifices and lives of such men as Washington and Henry and Warren, of Marshall and Morris and

Montgomery, of Greene and Franklin and Hayne! Ay, time would fail me to tell of the long line of patriotic worthies, who "*counted not their lives dear unto themselves*," for their country's sake, than whom purer spirits never mingled in the strife of battle, or poured out, like water, nobler blood for the rights of man, or laid on the altar of liberty holier offerings, sanctified by prayer!

Do you think that the priceless favors we enjoy were conferred without the hand of God? or that He will not hold us accountable for the trust committed to our management and keeping, for the benefit of His Church, of posterity, and of the world? Depend upon it, though we may deeply deplore the evils which afflict our country, and though we may carefully abstain from any word or act to hasten the catastrophe which is impending over our Union, still, as a part of the nation, we may share in the direful consequences which God in His wrath may permit to come upon us, as the deserved punishment of national sin and national ingratitude. For, remember that nations, as such, will not be held to answer at the bar of God's judgment, as individual transgressors; but here, in this world, they will reap the reward of iniquity, and find pride, injustice, faithlessness, and ingratitude visited by an overflowing flood of shame, humiliation, oppression, corruption, and contempt.

Say not in your hearts, beloved brethren, that you can do nothing in this case. You can at least pray. At the prayer of Moses, the sea was divided, the children of Israel were delivered, and their enemies destroyed. When Moses prayed, the Amalekites were defeated, and the Israelites prevailed. At the prayer of Joshua, "the sun stood still upon Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon." At the prayer of Elijah, the windows of heaven were closed, so that it rained not for three years and six months. Again, at his intercessions and prayers, fire fell from heaven to consume the sacrifice on Mount Carmel, and a great rain fell to water the earth. When the Apostles prayed, the Holy Ghost was given. When the Church prayed, St. Peter was delivered. Prayer is the instrument put into the hand of the humblest believer, which, used in faith, touches the spring that sets in motion the machinery that moves the universe. Then pray! pray

earnestly! pray more earnestly! The God of the universe is the sovereign Disposer of nations, as well as of souls. To Him we are indebted for civil and social as well as personal blessing and protection. "It is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in man. It is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in princes." Wait not for your rulers to provide a remedy for evils of which they are themselves the chief authors, but beseech God to save us from the blindness of our rulers and "the madness of the people." What will avail our dissensions, what our party names, — *Republicans*, *Democrats*, *Opposition*, or *American*, — when fanaticism and party spirit shall have done their work, shall have overturned the beautiful fabric of our civil freedom, shall have pulled down the strong pillars that upheld our Union, and marred its fair proportions; and when we shall sit down, like the Jews, "by the waters of Babylon," in bitterness of heart and anguish of spirit, to weep over the departed glory of our country, its desolation and its ruin!

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOUNDED UPON THE RECOGNITION OF GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY.

"And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them."—1 SAM. viii. 7.

IT is maintained by wise and eminent men, that mankind derived their first ideas of government from the parental relation. Certain it is, that the earliest rule of which we read in history was after this model. It seems natural and becoming, that the father of the family should have the chief direction and control of whatever arrangements are necessary for the comfort and welfare of all the members of the household.

As the human race multiplied rapidly, in periods when the life of man was prolonged through several centuries of years, the experience gained thereby, in general oversight and government, would of course enhance the influence of the oldest progenitor, if his administration had been wise, prudent, and just. This form of government still obtains in some parts of the earth where the circumstances of soil and climate are not most favorable to the purposes of agriculture, and to the congregating of large numbers of the human family for social objects. Such appears to be the case with the Arabians, the Koords, and other nomadic tribes of Asia and Africa, and the aborigines of our own continent. Among all these, the patriarchal institution, in which the supreme power is lodged in the heads of families, seems to prevail to a greater or less extent. As the population of the world increased, and settlements were made in parts remote from each other, and distinguished by differences of soil, climate, and productions, this primeval form of government, called by some writers the golden age, was modified in various ways. Combinations took place among different heads of families, and this led to the establishment of political communities, and the choice of a few persons

charged with the care of the common interests and welfare. Thus oligarchies were introduced, forms of government in which the chief legislative and executive power was lodged in the hands of a small number of the principal men. The pursuits of men in primeval ages were favorable to the development of what is termed native talent. The incidents and dangers of the chase prepared them for the conflicts of war, and drew forth an exhibition of physical strength, prowess, and sagacity; and thus successful and favorite leaders were very soon elevated to the possession and exercise of kingly power.

Such, briefly, appears to have been the progress of things in the affairs of government generally, and the process or steps through which men passed, in their civil or social arrangements, in the earliest times, and down to the period of authentic history.

To this idea of gradual development in the establishment of a government for the protection of life and property, founded on the experience and necessities of mankind, there is one remarkable and striking exception. It is found among the Hebrews, or children of Israel. They were the first people on earth, of whom history records that they had a written constitution, — an original enactment of elementary principles or fundamental law, — recognized by, but independent of, human wisdom, experience, and necessity, for its authority and sanctions. It was written by the finger of God, upon two tables of stone; solemnly proclaimed from Mount Sinai, in the hearing of all the people, under circumstances of overpowering grandeur and magnificence; and as publicly received by the nation as the fundamental law or constitution by which they, and their children, and children's children, should be governed through all generations. Upon these laws, called the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, are founded all the institutions of Moses prescribing religious duties, and securing personal and proprietary rights even to the minutest particulars. These Commandments are likewise the foundation of every enlightened system of legislation and jurisprudence, among all civilized nations under heaven. To suppose that they emanated from the wisdom of the Hebrews, a nation down-trodden and crushed by a brutal bondage, is simply a degree of stupidity removed only one step

from its parent, insanity. To suppose that they originated with Moses, aided and informed by the learning which he had acquired among the Egyptians, is unworthy the consideration of a thoughtful and sagacious mind, unless it can be shown that such laws existed, in form or essence, among the Egyptians; an assertion which no delver in archæological lore has ever, to my knowledge, ventured to make. Yet the fact is undisputed, that they were found among the Hebrews; that they have been held sacred by that people, among all the strange vicissitudes that have attended them in their wanderings through all climes; and that they are to this day held to be obligatory by their descendants, as they now dwell alone, peculiar and distinct among the nations.

The first law of this code is, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me." God was the King of the Hebrews, — made so, if any please, by the unanimous voice or vote of the people, at the foot of Mount Sinai; and all the laws promulgated for their observance and government were thenceforth in His name and by His authority. "Thus saith the Lord," "Thus saith the Lord," clothed every enactment of Moses, every decree of the kings, and every solemn message and warning of the prophets, with all the obligation they possessed, and gave them all their sanction. Under this theocracy the Hebrews lived and prospered as long as they forfeited not the protection and providential care of their King, by their rebellions and their sins. They could live and prosper, though they had to pay an annual capitation tax in token of their allegiance to their Sovereign, and a tenth yearly of all the fruits of their labor, whether the products of the harvest, of the vineyard, of the oliveyard, or the yield of the flock, the herd, or the stall; to let their fields lie uncultivated, and their vintage ungathered, every seventh year; to free every man his servants, and remit the payment of all debts, at the return of every jubilee or fiftieth year. It is evident that no people on earth could subsist under such an economy, unless, like the Hebrews, they enjoyed the special and provident care of Heaven. But these people were never without witness of the power of God to support them, though repeatedly rebelling against Him, and forfeiting His protection. By His power the waters of the Red Sea were divided, to let them

pass in safety from the pursuit of their enemies. At His word, manna fell from heaven to furnish them with bread; from the rock living waters gushed forth to slake their thirst; and the air was darkened with quails sent to give them meat. Victoriously settled in the land promised to their fathers, they continued to increase and prosper, under the rule of their judges raised up from time to time by God for their deliverance, until the time of Samuel. Towards the close of his life and administration, his sons became dissolute; and the people, fearing a recurrence of the misrule and oppression suffered under the profligate house of Eli, after that the aged prophet should be gathered to his fathers, came, with their assembled elders and tribes, to Samuel at Ramah, and said unto him, "Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. *And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* . . . Yet protest solemnly unto them, and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them." Samuel then proceeded to recite to them the oppressions and all the evil which their king should bring upon them,[1] that, being warned of all these direful consequences, they might be persuaded to repent, and withdraw their demand for a king. But they refused to be warned; and the Lord again said to Samuel, "Hearken unto their voice, and make them a king."

In due time, Saul was pointed out by Divine designation, and anointed king over Israel; but not until Samuel had again gathered

[1] "And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that asked of him a king. And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give

all the people to Mizpeh, and said unto them: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Ye have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of all your adversities and your tribulations; and ye have said unto Him, Nay, but set a king over us. . . . Then Samuel told the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord." The king thus appointed and constituted over Israel acted as the viceroy of God. The fundamental law of the kingdom, established and proclaimed at Mount Sinai, was never abrogated. The form of administration was changed; a king, instead of a judge, ruled: but the law, "*Thou shalt have none other gods but me*," remained in full force, and bound the king in Israel ever after as firmly and as strictly as it did the meanest subject in the kingdom. How else can we account for this, among many other similar and wondrous facts, that during the reign of wicked Ahab and his infamous queen Jezebel, when there was a general apostasy from the true God, Elijah, single and alone, overthrew the reigning imposture, and slew eight hundred and fifty prophets and priests of the prevalent idolatry, and neither Ahab nor his court dared to interpose for their rescue? Through all the period when the kings reigned, and afterwards when the kingdoms of Israel and Judah were overthrown, and the people, made captives, were transported to Assyria and to Babylon, we meet with repeated instances when God was appealed to for the vindication of His truth, and the protection of His servants who trusted in Him, and his interposition was not invoked in vain. The preservation of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, cast into the fiery furnace seven-fold heated by order of Nebuchadnezzar, and the deliverance of Daniel from the den of lions, during the reign of Darius the Persian, to name no more, are instances in

them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day. Nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel: and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us." — 1 SAM. viii. 10–19.

point. In all these cases, — and many more might be named, — the claim of God's sovereignty was triumphantly vindicated, and the mightiest monarchs of earth bowed submissively to the honor of His majesty, and with royal authority commanded all nations and kindreds and people to do Him homage, and to pay Him worship.

I have said that the first written Constitution for the government of a people was given to the Hebrews. And now it is a fact as remarkable, that ours is the first written Constitution in modern times. We sometimes hear it said, or see it loosely written, that the Grecian and Roman Republics had Constitutions. They had laws originated by themselves, or borrowed from other people; but a constitutional form of government they had not. People sometimes speak also of the British Constitution. There is no such instrument in existence, and never was. The British people have their "Magna Charta," their bill of rights, the acts of Parliament, and the common law; and that is all.

And here I take occasion to introduce the mention of another remarkable and no less noteworthy fact. It is, as I believe, that the Protestant Episcopal Church is the only religious denomination, certainly in this country, if not in the world, that has incorporated with her daily service the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, without alteration, addition, or subtraction. These formulas, which are "proven by most sure warrants of Holy Scripture," set forth most clearly the articles of "the faith once delivered to the saints." As the whole Jewish economy was based upon the Decalogue, so the Sacraments of the Church ordained by Christ, and all the institutions of Christianity, are founded upon the recognition of the elementary principles or doctrines taught in the Creeds and witnessed by the Church as the truth of God. To take from or add to these Creeds, is heresy. And now you perceive a reason why the Church, as long as she pursues the proper work enjoined upon her by her Lord and Redeemer, can and ought to have no concern with the agitating questions of the day, with new theories in religion, or dogmas of faith, which were not received and held from the beginning. The faith which she teaches, though it embraces not all truth known or revealed, contains all

that is necessary to salvation; and like the great principle which binds all the parts of the universe in harmony and order, this faith, truly received and kept, preserves all the members of Christ "in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." We return from this digression to say, that, since the formation and adoption of our Federal Constitution, most of the European nations, as well as the republics of South America, have ordained and established written Constitutions. In one particular, our Constitution differs, if I am not greatly mistaken, from most if not all others; and that is, in declining to make any provision for the support of religion. All other nations have laid religion at the base of their civil institutions, and regarded the ecclesiastical system in alliance with the political. Our fathers thought and acted differently. Not that they were opposed to Christianity; but they believed that the Gospel of Christ would be most successful when left to itself, to the voluntary and unconstrained support of a free people, among whom truth might have an open field to combat error, and enjoy protection, whether elevated to the high places of earthly power, grandeur, and dignity, or taking a lowly and unobtrusive seat by the fireside of the poor man, and instilling its sanctifying principles into the minds and hearts of little children, through the instrumentality of maternal teaching.

The objects and expectations of our fathers have not yet failed. We have good hope that the mantle which has fallen upon their sons descended with a portion of their spirit of wisdom also; and that the future history of our country, when unfolded before the admiring gaze of posterity, will show that God is most devoutly and sincerely worshipped when the conscience is unfettered by any restrictions of man's enactment, and where every one is allowed to worship God as his understanding approves, without fear of molestation, and without a wish to interrupt others. It is some comfort to reflect, that notwithstanding all our unseemly divisions upon the subject of religion, perpetuated to the reproach of our common Christianity, the religious sentiment, in some form of expression, has a firm and extensive hold on the American people. The great mind of the nation respects Christianity, and reverences its doctrines and great central truths; as, for example,

those set forth in the Apostles' Creed. All the States have passed laws for its protection; the highest judicial decisions have affirmed that Christianity is a part of the common law of our country; and wherever attempts have been made to dishonor it, they have originated with the insanity of a vulgar infidelity, the presumption and arrogance of an ignorant and a wild fanaticism, or the low cunning and unmanly trickery of artful and selfish politicians. Such men have formed their notions of civil liberty under the oppressive forms of rule in the Old World, amidst the anarchy and upheavings of revolution; or in the licentiousness and violence of opposing factions, on election-day, in our large commercial cities. These are the men to whom aspirants for office appeal for support, and whom they flatter and cajole into their purposes, as the honest and hard-working poor, struggling to rise into positions of influence and places of trust and honor. These are the men who, of late years, boldly insist upon an independence of God himself, as a part of their civil liberty; who claim that the proceedings of our Legislatures shall not be opened with prayer, that the services of chaplains in our army and navy shall be dispensed with, and the wounded and dying soldier and seaman shall be without the aid and comforts of religion, and, when dead, shall be buried like brute beasts. These are the men who ask that the solemnity of oaths be discontinued in all our judicial proceedings; and thus, virtually, they cast off the fear of God and of future punishment. These are the men, finally, who, through the instrumentality of party organizations and faction, have succeeded in driving the sober, prudent, and really wise and conservative men out of the country, from the National and State councils, and by the action of self-constituted and irresponsible conventions, aided by a venal and corrupting press, afraid to give utterance to any statement which is not indorsed by a party, have actually succeeded in arresting the regular operations of the government, and have brought, or threaten to bring, its whole machinery to a dead-lock! In a word, things have come to that pass of corruption and venality, under the lead of ambitious and unscrupulous men, that the dissolution of the Union and destruction of the government is the open and undisguised alternative preferred to the defeat and overthrow

of a party. Such are the best pretensions which the parties that distract the nation can make to the patriotism that animated our fathers. They were zealous for civil freedom. They perilled all — life, fortune, and honor — for country; and, sooner than have spoken a word or done an act to jeopardize its honor or its safety, they would have suffered their tongues to be torn out by the roots, and "let their arms fall from the shoulder-blade, and had their arms broken from the bone."[1]

In a country like ours, where the connection between civil and private sentiment approaches nearly to identity, and the reflection from each to the other is direct and intense, the effect upon the moral and religious interests of the nation, as distinguished from the civil, is great, and greatly to be deplored. What men, in this case, approve and feel as citizens, they must approve and feel as souls. But the solemn truth is, that the religious interests of the country are inseparable from the social and the civil. Christianity — not any particular form of its expression, but the religion of Christ, as exemplified in the lives of Himself and Apostles — is rooted beneath our platforms of government, and ramified throughout our civil and social institutions so widely and so strongly that the one cannot be plucked up without ruining the other. And this intimate association is acknowledged in our laws: we witness the confession of it every Lord's Day; in every court of justice where an oath is administered, there is a recognition of Christianity; in every marriage that is solemnized; in the whole circle of statutory arrangements, by which right is distinguished from wrong, and the relations of society defined and guarded, — the religion of Christ is at the bottom of the whole. Out of it the whole system has been evolved: and if you take away that basis, there would be nothing left to sustain the edifice; it would sink into utter ruin, and there would be no rule or measure by which to reconstruct it in its beautiful and harmonious proportions, or in any form, whether safe or insecure, until some religion should be adopted to supply the foundation and the model, and to impart spirit and the inner life to the body new formed and fashioned.

[1] Job xxxi. 22.

Beyond all this, there is yet another aspect in which our social welfare is seen to be inseparably intertwined with Christianity. The God whom we acknowledge, and whom we profess to worship and adore, is the Sovereign disposer of nations as well as of souls. If we deny him as a people, He will deny us in His providence. If we dishonor Him, He will visit national sin with national retribution, as the whole history of the world demonstrates; and in our country, more especially, national sin is naturally and indissolubly connected with its appropriate curse. In short, if social and civil relations are naturally binding among men, we stand before the eye of God's providence, and virtually before the bar of His judgment, as a society and as a nation. We have, therefore, need, and it is our bounden duty, to acknowledge Him as the Sovereign Ruler of the universe; to obey His laws, and maintain the institutions which He has established, of obligation, as universal, as the largess of a Providence, which, with open hand, fills all things living with plenteousness. Whose liberties, I pray you, would thereby be endangered or restricted? Whose sense of propriety can thereby be offended? Who would not, as a citizen and as a patriot, wish that the Lord's house were more generally attended, and His day more piously sanctified, and His ordinances more religiously observed, and His ministers more commonly encouraged, until in every place we might see piety the elm of every vine, the supporter of every virtue, the ornament of every profession; learning graced with piety, law administered with piety, politics purified by piety, agriculture pursued with piety, and trade regulated by piety? Who does not know and feel, that, while religion would thus flourish, peace would prevail where discord now raves; harmony rule where disorder now confounds; charity smile where hatred now scowls; the hearts of men be united in purposes of mutual benefit, and every human vocation prosper, and this nation continue more than it has been — more, alas! I fear, than it is likely to be — the mirror of prosperity and picture of happiness, in the admiring gaze of the world!

May we never forget, brethren beloved, and "partakers of the heavenly calling," that by pious men this nation was founded, by pious men defended, and by them rescued from the iron grasp of

tyranny. Infidelity cannot show that religion has ever injured our country. On the contrary, it had so exhibited its worth in the perilous times of our early history, that when we emerged from the storms and darkness of our Revolutionary struggle, it was fairly to be presumed that its value would never after be called in question. It had commended itself to our sires, in times which tried the souls of good and brave men; in the solemn deliberations of the council-chamber, when each Senator felt that by his vote he might be preparing a halter for his neck; and in the desperate onslaughts of the battle-field, and the wild hurrah of charging squadrons. It is not presumptuous or boastful to say that we inherit a land watered by the tears, consecrated by the prayers, and made sacred by the blood, of pious and brave men. And if that dreaded day shall ever come, when this mighty Republic, that now rises like a globe of light in the midst of the darkness of misrule on earth and amid the desolations of time, shall be torn to pieces by the parricidal hands of those to whom its destinies are now intrusted, and some Cæsar or Napoleon shall gather together its scattered fragments, and sway the sceptre of despotic power over this wide and rich domain; when brother shall meet brother in mortal strife, and the thunder of battle shall reverberate from our hills, and roll along our now peaceful and quiet vales, — it will be after the national sense of the value of religion and its obligations has decayed, and neglect of its worship and a sensualizing ambition shall have crushed out every manly virtue, and introduced in their stead licentiousness among our rulers, and a consequent and general corruption of manners among the people. Then we shall have reached the consummation for which tyrants in the Old World and demagogues in the New have long hopefully looked, and which the enemies of rational liberty throughout the earth have predicted; but we shall not then have witnessed the consequences most interesting or concerning to ourselves. But I forbear, and would rather draw a veil, if I might, over the vision which fancy presents to contemplation, when that day of darkness shall overshadow this fair land, and, in the prophetic language, be "like the morning spread upon the mountains." Imagination now pictures millions upon millions of habitations in cities, towns,

villages, and neighborhoods dotting the whole land, and there are happy inmates in them all. From thousands upon thousands arises every morning and evening the voice of prayer and praise, of thanksgiving and melody. And every Sunday there are myriads upon myriads gathered in the sanctuaries where Jehovah has put His name, and where He has promised to accept the offerings of spiritual sacrifice from His people. And all over the whole land, through the week, is heard the hum of industry plying its tasks; the sound of the workman's hammer rings from the shop, and the stroke of the woodman's axe awakes the echoes of the forest. Nightfall collects millions of children around the hearthstones where frugal mothers are providing, with grateful care and happy smiles, comforts and refreshments for their respective households; and the morning sun shines upon numberless lines of those same children plodding their joyful way, and converging from surrounding neighborhoods to the humble school-house, where masters, clothed with competent authority, bear rule and teach their pupils to fear God, honor their parents, learn their duties, and revere the memory of Washington. Commerce is busy, trade is active, manufactures yield their stores, and agriculture her varied products. In the midst of all this contentment, present prosperity, positive enjoyment, and prospective happiness, the cry, like a death-knell, rings through all our borders, "*The Union is dissolved! and the sun of our glory has gone down!*" Ruin, with its wild shriek of despair, spreads its dark wings over all the land, and foreshadows the "desolation that cometh like a whirlwind." Every face gathers blackness, every bosom heaves a sigh, and every eye drops a tear! Well may we then, if not now, take up the lament of Christ over Jerusalem, and say, "O my country! *If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.*"

PRAYER.

"O most Mighty God! King of kings, and Lord of lords, without whose care the watchman waketh but in vain, we implore, in this our time of need, Thy succor and blessing in behalf of

our rulers and magistrates, and of all the people of this land. Remember not our many and great transgressions; turn from us the judgments which we feel; and give us wisdom to discern, and courage to attempt, and faithfulness to do, and patience to endure, whatsoever shall be well-pleasing in Thy sight; so that Thy chastenings may yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness, and that at last we may rejoice in Thy salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

A LETTER FROM BISHOP COXE.

KATONAH, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N.Y.,
Oct. 5, 1885.

MY BELOVED AND VENERATED FATHER IN CHRIST, — While yet a layman, I was visiting Bishop Whittingham in Baltimore, when Bishop Otey was announced. The expressions with which my revered instructor in theology received the announcement were those of strongly emphasized respect; and he welcomed the Bishop of Tennessee into the study, where we were sitting, with marked cordiality. I soon left the two prelates to their communings; but on meeting Bishop Whittingham at his table, in the evening, he referred to the conversation he had held with the Bishop, and remarked, "Such a man is valuable in the councils of the Church, and I have persuaded him that he must not be absent from"— I forget what; an important meeting that was expected, and which Bishop Otey had felt unable to attend. This was my first introduction to this excellent disciple of Ravenscroft, to whom, in some important particulars, Bishop Whittingham seemed to think him not inferior.

I doubt whether I ever met him, after that, save in public assemblies, until 1851. This is the moment in his history which you kindly permit me to illustrate in your biography of the good man, — a duty for which I am not wholly unprepared, as I have a diary of that year, in which there are frequent references to him, as I met with him in Europe.

Thus, May 17, I called on him at "The Mitre" in Oxford, and was shocked to observe his apparently very poor state of health. He confessed that nothing else had tempted him to England but a hope that a change of air might prove beneficial; of which, nevertheless, he seemed to have no great confidence. He was despondent, and told me of an affliction that had befallen him, which led him to feel no great disposition to live longer, unless

such should prove the will of God. I promised to see him as frequently as possible, and he was even earnest in pressing me to do so. He magnified the ties of country, but especially of the Church's communion, and seemed to take comfort in meeting a younger brother from his own land and of the Church he loved so well.

On the following Sunday, May 18, which was the fourth after Easter, Archdeacon Wilberforce was to preach at St. Mary's, and I waited on the Bishop at "The Mitre," to be his escort and *quasi*-chaplain for the day. He seemed better, and I congratulated him on what Dr. Johnson might call the *sound orthodoxy* of his inn; "The Mitre" at Oxford, taking rank above even the doctor's favourite "Mitre" in the Strand. I was glad to find the Bishop treated with great respect at the church, and placed in a dignified seat among the doctors; but the simplicity and meekness of his manner seemed to me almost excessive. Their disposition to pay him honour was a recognition of his apostleship and of inter-communion; and I felt that his official dignity might have been permitted to overcome, in a somewhat greater degree, his extreme humility. No other bishop was present, and certainly he was "the greatest" even in that assembly; but he felt the grandeur of the place and its associations, and seemed with real greatness to make himself "less than the least." So the great Apostle named himself Paulus. In the evening I called on the Bishop again, and was glad to find that he had borne without ill effects the fatigues of the day.

Afterwards I called on Dr. Pusey, with Bishop Otey, whose humility and deference in presence of that great scholar were, as before, even more than was becoming, considering his fatherly dignity and the presumably filial spirit of the other.

The next morning he called upon me, to my great delight, and took me with him to "The Mitre," where, says my diary, "we conferred about the Bishop of Maryland." I don't know just what this means; but I think dear Bishop Whittingham, just then, was in one of his many *crises* of life, his "often infirmities." The same day I accompanied him in sight-seeing, and was proud to point out to him objects of interest with which I had already

been made familiar. The record of the day ends thus, in my diary: "So I waited on Bishop Otey to his hotel, and bade him an affectionate good-night, receiving his blessing in return."

While in Oxford, I conducted him one morning to a spot, just before Baliol College, where I said to him, "Here stands the Bishop of Tennessee, where Ridley and Latimer stood before, and lighted the candle which illuminates the world. Here those holy martyrs suffered, that we might truly live." He bared his head, and said devoutly, "I bless Almighty God for their testimony." I said, "*Amen.*" This incident was observed by passers-by, who seemed to understand something of its significance.

On the 15th of June I saw him again, at Westminster Abbey. It was the "Jubilee" of the Ven. S.P.G., and the Bishop of London (Blomfield) preached. The Archbishop (Sumner) officiated at the altar, attended by the Bishops of St. Asaph, Argyle, Jamaica, Tennessee, and others. Bishop Otey looked wretchedly; had lost rather than gained strength since I parted with him. The next day there was a great meeting in behalf of the Society, at St. Martin's Hall, Prince Albert presiding. Bishop Wilberforce was the chief speaker; but much time was given to the turgid utterances of Lord John Russell and others, whose official dignities were called in to magnify a work in which they took little active interest, though willing to parade themselves under the Queen's consort. The young Duke of Argyle, though he was not one of the speakers, displayed himself offensively, as I thought, seeing he was no friend of the Church of England; and there sat the meek apostle of Tennessee, amid the gilded nobodies, unnoticed, and with no place in the programme of the day. This always displeased me in England, — to see the greatest merit and worth so often shoved aside, to make way for men of rank having no other than their claims from Heralds' College to take any precedence whatever. Some allusion to what the Society had done in America seemed to move Bishop Otey's heart, however; and very impulsively he whispered to one of the great men who sat near him. Then a considerable amount of whispering and consultation followed among divers personages, and I saw that the good Bishop had given them annoyance. At last a card was handed to Prince

Albert, which he examined, and sent back with something written on it. Bishop Otey had not reflected upon the "red-tape system" of such occasions in England. He had proposed a volunteer speech; and like "Oliver asking for more," in Dickens's story, great was the consternation he had stirred up. Such volunteering was quite unusual; what should be done? I afterwards learned that Prince Albert had agreed to call upon the Bishop of Tennessee, "if he would be very brief;" but he was evidently *bored.* Bishop Otey was as innocent as a child in the affair, feeling anxious to express American gratitude with American freedom, for the Society's "nursing care;" and when he arose, with care-worn features and tall gaunt figure, but looking like an Elijah with his flashing eye and long extended arm, there was a profound sensation in the assembly. He had gratified the popular feeling by breaking through the stupid conventionalities of the time and place, and he received a warm greeting. He was "brief" indeed, but said something which ought to have been said. What could be more "telling" as a living trophy of the Society, than this Bishop from the woods of Tennessee? He created mirth, however, by the words with which he concluded his invasion of the proceedings, somewhat as follows: "I have often heard the words of one of our backwoodsmen incorrectly quoted here in England; let me set them forth correctly, in justice to my countryman. He is always credited with an exhortation to all Americans to *go ahead;* but what he really said had a higher tone, and the maxim should never be quoted except as he gave it; viz., *Be sure you're right* — then go ahead!" The Bishop sat down amid a tumult of cheers accompanied with smiles. Bishop Wilberforce afterwards assured me that he himself was greatly pleased with the Bishop's emendation, and by the earnestness with which he uttered the prefatory phrase, "Be sure you're right."

I am unable to find my diary kept in Scotland, from which I might make some extracts not unsuitable for your purpose. At Edinburgh I met Bishop Otey again, and he agreed to let me shape his tour for him through the "land o' cakes." We travelled together to Aberdeen, to pay our reverent tribute to the source of Seabury's consecration; and there we met Bishop

Skinner, son or grandson of one of his consecrators, who showed us no little kindness. We were charmed with the American and primitive simplicity of his See-House and its modest but dignified *ménage*. We worshipped in the Church which occupies the spot where that memorable consecration took place, and met one aged person, who, as a boy, remembered the first sermon of the American Bishop, on the day of his elevation to that position, at Evening Prayer.

Bidding the Bishop good-night, I said to him one evening, "To-morrow morning I shall take a dip into the German Ocean before breakfast, and I humbly advise your lordship to keep me company." I was only half in earnest in such counsel, and was startled when he answered, "Well, then, I will do as you say." It alarmed me, and I said, "For the sake of Tennessee, I must reduce my advice to a mere suggestion; I dare not commend such heroic practice; it might be to kill or cure: and you must give it thought, and take all the responsibility." In the morning he was ready, at the hour appointed, and we had a most refreshing bath in the wild surf coming in from the Baltic. We walked back to our hotel, and he cheered me by confessing to a genial glow. From that day he grew better, and frequently he said to me that he owed his recovery to his bath at Aberdeen. "Not the first time," I remarked, "that our Episcopate has been recruited from Aberdeenshire."

We had a romantic tour together to Inverness, and down through the Caledonian Canal. Great was his delight, as we gazed on those scenes of Jacobite history, which recalled Prince Charlie, and Scott's bewitching stories. I amused him with scraps of rhyme and anecdotes which I remembered, and especially with tales of the '15 and the '45: —

> "Cope could not cope, nor Wade wade thro' the snow,
> Nor Hawley haul his cannon to the foe."

He had a great fancy for all such narratives, and I was amused to find his Virginian enthusiasm constantly cropping out. Over and over again, he assured me that such and such hills, as we descried them, reminded him of the "Peaks of Otter." He

greatly amused me by his frequent outbursts of patriotic feeling. With all his state pride, he was yet an enthusiastic American, and sometimes felt called upon to assert his Republican principles when he heard them assailed. He told me he liked our American Church, in many respects, better than the mother-church in England. He said, "There is no such *brotherhood* in all the world as exists among the Clergy of our own Church. If a man is a brother clergyman, it is a bond universally felt and acknowledged, a purer and holier *Masonry.*"

We went to Oban, and thence made an excursion to Iona, and to Fingal's cave in Staffa. He seemed to feel, as Dr. Johnson did, all the sanctity of Iona, and inspected the royal graves, the ruins of its primitive church, and especially the ancient church-yard cross, with deep emotion. When I mentioned to Blackwood and old "Christopher North," that the Bishop of Tennessee was in Edinboro', both were greatly interested; and Professor Wilson said, "How strange it sounds, here by Holyrood and Arthur's Seat, to think of a Christian Bishop from the wilds of America!" It seemed yet more worthy of my admiration, to see him on this pilgrimage to Iona, the seat of a primitive Christianity.

But I never saw him so excited as when we entered the cave at Staffa, rowed by stout fishermen, and accompanied by nearly a dozen of other tourists. I said, "It is a natural Church amid the waters." He caught at the idea; and, as we stepped upon a ledge of rocks that served for a chancel, he said, with a commanding air, "Let us sing the doxology, *Praise God from whom all blessings flow.*" And so we did. I don't know who started it, but those walls and rocky vaults resounded with Ken's sublime *Gloria Patri*, to which the echoing waves seemed to respond *Amen*, as they surged into the cavern, and at times lashed its walls. The floods *clapped their hands* indeed, and seemed to worship with us. I wonder if such worship was ever offered there before, with a Bishop and a Presbyter to make it liturgical and catholic!

Our journey over the Breadalbane estates was attended with one noticeable incident. We were seated on the top of the coach, and stopped at a coach-house for change of horses. The Edinboro'

coach drove up at the same moment, and, to my astonishment, down leaped my venerated friend, springing like a schoolboy to the ground; and in a moment I saw him grasping the hand of a traveller from the other coach, whom I inferred to be an American and an old familiar friend. The two spent a few minutes in very close conversation; and when the Bishop resumed his seat, he said, "That's the eminent Dr. Breckenridge of Kentucky."—"Ah!" said I, "how happy he must feel to find himself among his fellow disciples of John Knox!"—"By no means," was the answer; "he was telling me how much he preferred the Presbyterians of Kentucky: he says they all drink toddy here, and he never saw so much whiskey before among Christians."

In Argyleshire we made one excursion on foot. How well I remember the glorious sunset over the sea, amid those superb highlands, as we approached the inn at Ballachulish! A memorable evening we spent together there. We always began and closed our days together, with prayers, remembering our beloved ones beyond the Atlantic, and the dear Church of which we were servants as well as sons, and in which I revered him as a father. Often, as we climbed the mountains in Switzerland, he recalled the scenes near Loch-Leven, and the night at Ballachulish. At the "Pap of Coe" we rehearsed the story of King William's massacre, and spoke as Churchmen must of the bloody Prince of Orange and of his cruel vengeance on the Church of Scotland.

It was several weeks later that I overtook the Bishop on the Rhine, and we began again to be fellow-tourists. He was greatly improved, felt ready for walking, and found it healthful exertion. Often we mounted mules, and so travelled by night as well as day. He climbed the Rigi with me, on foot, delighted with his *alpenstock*, and showing a power of endurance which greatly surprised me. Oh the rapture of the view from the Rigi Kulm, that rewarded our efforts! We saw the sunset over the Lake of the Four Cantons, and watched the last flames of sunlight that tipped the snowy peaks of the Oberland. One after another the lights gave way to the shades of evening, and the purple alone remained where gold and opal tints had glorified the horizon only a few minutes before.

He excited my laughter as he recounted his experiences at Cologne, where he went to see the remains of St. Ursula and the thousand virgins (some say, ten thousand) whose bones are encased in the walls. "Did the priest show you the veil of the Virgin," said I, "and the water-pots of Cana?"—"Yes," said he indignantly, "and I rebuked him for his impudence. My *valet-de-place* was obliged to translate for me, but I demanded of him, '*On what evidence* do you assert this?'" It took some time for the *valet* to explain that the gentleman was an American, and asked for the proofs of such stories. When the priest gained at last some faint conception of our American ideas of *evidence*, he was much disgusted, shrugged his shoulders, and held out the veil and pointed at the water-pots, as much as to say, "Why, here they are! What *evidence* do you need when you see them for yourself? can't you trust your own eyes?" The tall figure of my sage friend, his index-finger outstretched and pointing, as he asked for the *evidence*, presented to my mind such a ludicrous contrast with that of the besotted priest whom I had encountered in like manner a few days before, that I laughed outright as the Bishop gave the account; and it makes me laugh again as I recall it. So utterly incongruous are the mental habits of weak credulity and of enlightened faith!

My friend's vigour seemed to increase; his enthusiasm rose daily, higher and higher, among those glorious Alps. For hours, under a bright starlight, we rode our mules over the Kaiserstuhl, from Sarnen, on our way to the Lakes of Interlachen. We went to the Grindelwald together, and to the Staubbach; but a terrible rain defeated our purpose to cross the Wengern in company. We retreated to Thun, and thence to Berne and Freyburg, spending the Lord's Day at the latter place, where we read the entire Morning Service together, after listening to that marvellous organ at the cathedral. Nothing seemed to fatigue him. He travelled with me all night to Lausanne in a sort of post-chaise which we had all to ourselves, and so we came to Chillon and the Lake of Geneva. He knew much of Byron's poem by heart, and recited, with profound feeling, several of those lines on Bonnivard, dwelling especially on the expression, "for they appeal from tyranny to God." At Geneva,

he found friends at one of the hotels on the left bank of the Rhone; but I crossed to the Hotel des Bergues, whence I could gaze on Mont Blanc from my chamber windows. Happily I did so; for there the Bishop of Oxford arrived the same evening, and gave me immediate notice that I was his fellow-lodger. When I told him that Bishop Otey was also in Geneva, and very greatly improved in health, he rejoiced with me, and soon called on him and had important conversations with him on church-matters. When we parted, I accompanied Wilberforce on the Leman Lake and as far as Martigny, where he went into Italy, and I made an episode into Chamounix. But the dear and truly great Bishop of Oxford often referred to Bishop Otey, and gave me his impressions of his character, which were very just. He recognized his warm and generous affections, his fidelity to the Church, his missionary spirit, his Apostolic earnestness, and, with all, his child-like simplicity and unworldliness, his real dignity and elevation of spirit.

Bishop Otey was persuaded, by the friends he had met in Geneva, to retrace his steps and revisit the Oberland. When we afterwards met in our dear native country again, he said, "I have the advantage of you, for I made that passage of the Wengern, after all; saw the avalanches, and came down to the Lutschine again, sorry to think how much my friend, Cleveland Coxe, had missed by going into Italy in such hot haste to see Rome and the Pope." So he triumphed over me, but salved it all, as he quoted his favourite Horace: —

"Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico."

When I recur to those happy days with so good a man, and feel how many blessed influences came to me, in my travels, from his pure and paternal sympathy, I am thankful to God that I met him, and gained from him so many ideas, useful to me now in that common episcopate which he adorned by his holy example. When he fell asleep, I rejoiced that he had found the blessed repose for which I had so often heard him sigh; but I felt how great was my loss, and how valuable a man had been taken from the Church's councils and from her missionary work. May his Diocese never forget her first Bishop, nor those principles of the great and good

Bishop Ravenscroft, which he transplanted to the fair and well-watered soil of his beloved Tennessee.

Thus, my venerated friend, I have thrown off, at your request, in a manner too much marred by unavoidable hurry, a few recollections of one who never referred to you without expressions of love and respect, such as, from one's own brother, might be regarded as indicative of something deeper than even brotherly affection. Let me remain ever

Yours in Christ and His Church,

A. CLEVELAND COXE,

Bishop of Western New York.

To the Right Reverend,
The Bishop of Mississippi, etc., etc., etc.,
Sewanee, Tenn.

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Green, William Mercer, *bp.*, 1798–1887.

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3 p. l., 359 p. front. (port.) 24cm.

1. Otey, James Hervey, bp., 1800–1863.

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